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SHORT VIEW

Of some

Remarkable Transactions,

Leading to the happy Settlement of these
Nations under the Government of our Law-
full and Gracious SOVERAIGN

CHARLS the II.

whom GOD Preserve.

BY

ROGER L'ESTRANGE

*Qui aliquid statuit, parte inauditâ alterâ
Æquum licet statuerit, Iniquus est Judex.*

LONDON,

Printed for Henry Brome at the Gun in
Ivy-Lane, 1660.

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SHORT VIEW

OF THE
LIFE OF
THE
REVEREND
FATHER
JOHN
CASSIN

BY
THE
REV. FATHER
JOHN
CASSIN
OF THE
FATHERS OF THE
SACRED HEART
OF THE
PROVINCE OF
MONTREAL
OF THE
FATHERS OF THE
SACRED HEART
OF THE
PROVINCE OF
MONTREAL



The PREFACE.

UPon the Blessed Return of his Sacred Majesty, I found my self under a Censure of Betraying him: This put me upon the publishing of divers scatterd Papers to acquit my self, which (alltogether) were entitl'd my Apology.

To make the folly the more pardonable, I shap'd it like a little Story, tracing the whole course of Affairs then in motion by the best Method I could give it, but for the Truth of what is there contain'd, I dare account.

The Book lay dead a good while upon the Stationers band; the businesse of that time being not so much to enquire who deserv'd Reward, or who Punishment; but some were busie to Get, others to Scape, and not a few most fortunately did Both.

The World it seems is now at better Leisure to look about them, and among other Trifles, this Book is call'd upon: The reason why I Printed it, is gone, and so is that too why it was not minded. My Credit being at present Fairer then it was, although my Fortune somewhat Worse: But till all Offices were disposed of, it might have possibly been Inconvenient to believe any man honest, that was poor.

Finding

The PREFACE

Finding this composition now afresh enquired for; to do the Stationer a kindnesse, I have a little altered the Title; and to oblige the Reader, I have Exchanged a Longer Preface for a shorter: The rest continues to a Syllable the very thing it was.

One Apology for another, methinks is False Heraldry, yet I must beg the Reader to believe that I had no vanity to shew my self to the Publique in that Dresse: nor was I such a Sot, as to expect that what I fram'd to the Humour of the Vulgar, should much affect the Serious. But willing to appear rather to want Wit, then Honesty; and (to deal frankly) not without some hopes, that my good meaning would not be ill taken, I caused to be Printed this Discourse ensuing.

AN ADVERTISEMENT.

I Am here to Advertise, that as at first I entred upon This Pamphlet with great Unwillingnesse; so I have now at Last, rather chosen to break the Account, and Order of it, by Leaving out 34. Pages of what I intended, than overcharge the Reader by Filling up of this ensuing Vacancy. It is too much already, of what is Necessary; and That which I had prepared for this Place, not being of so Absolute Necessity to my present Purpose, I shall refer to a more proper Opportunity and Leisure.



L'ESTRANGE

HIS

APOLOGY, &c.

TO begin with the Beginning of the *War*, and of my *Story*. My Judgement led me to the Kings Party, and That I Serv'd, without any other Aym, or Benefit, than the Discharge of my Duty. In 1644. I was Betray'd by a Brace of Villains (by name, *Leman*, and *Haggar*) upon a Treaty to surprize *Linns Regis*. The former of these had been at *Oxford*, and there Solicited, and obtained the Promise of a Command at Sea; and Both of them were bound up under an Oath of Secrecy, and Fidelity, as Rank as words could make it. Being seized; and his Majestie's Commission

mission found about me: I was Hurry'd away, first to *Linn*; Thence to *London*; and There transmitted to the City-Court-Martial for my Tryal. (where Two Prime men were a *Saleman*, and an *Ostler*) In this Extremity, nothing was left unsaid, that might Infame me: and with so strong a Confidence too, that the best Friends I had, were stagger'd at it.

The *Commission* was Decry'd for *Counterfeit*, The *Design*, *Rash*, and *Foolish*: — The *Instrument*, as *much*; — The *Menage*, *worse*; There were two that Affirmed, that I *Betray'd* all, with the Formalities, *How*, and upon *What Conditions*. I was at last brought to the Bar; and Charg'd, First as a *Spy*; then as a *Traitor*, with all the Circumstances of Rudeness, and Severity Imaginable. Upon that Hearing, the Court Inclining to acquit me, It was proposed, and Carry'd, under pretence of Favour to me, that Judgement might be deferred, and two dayes longer Respit given me for the advantage of my Defence. In this *Interim*, they had pack'd a Committee, and then Condemn'd me as *Traitor*; Many persons Contributing to this Vote, that never heard one Syllable of my Tryal. My Sentence being pals'd, I threw a Breviate of my Case among them, with these very Words; That *Since they would not Hear my Defence, they might Read it; That was it*. A young Red-Headed Fellow, burnt it. I was then cast into *Newgate*; whence I dispatch'd forthwith a Petitionary Appeal to the Lords; and Narratives of the Proceedings to the Principal of Both Houses. At This Time I received a Friendly Visit, from Mr. *Therowgood*, and Mr. *Arrowsmith*, (then of the *Synod*) with an Assurance, that they would do their utmost to Preserve me, if I would but Petition to be Banish'd, and Take the Covenant, without which, there was no Possibility to Save me. My Answer was, (with a Respect to their Civility) to this effect: That if I could be so great a *Knave*, as soberly to Contradict my Conscience, in order to the Saving of my Life; I was not yet so great a *Fool*, as to be Hang'd, with my Confession about my Neck. The time appointed for my Execution, being the *Thursday* following,
The

The Lords Ordered my Reprieve, commanding *M I L L S*, (the Judge-Advocate) to bring in my Charge, upon Wednesday. He appeared accordingly, but with an Excuse, that he wanted Time to Prepare it; however upon Friday it should be Ready. It was then Providentially Demanded; whether they meant to Hang me First, and then Charge me; and if they Intended to execute me in the Interim? He told them, Yes; For *the Commons had pass'd an Order that no Reprieve should stand good, without the Consent of Both Houses*. Hereupon, they desired a Conference; but the Commons had Voted also, *That no Private Businesse should be Mov'd in Ten dayes*. This notwithstanding; with great Difficulty, it was Debated, and my Reprieve confirm'd, for 14. daies: and after That, Prolong'd, in Order to a further Hearing. In this Condition of Expectancy, I lay almost 4. years, a Prisoner; and only an Order betwixt me, and the Gallows. I am the more Particular in This, because I have so many Honorable Witnesses, to prove the Truth of every Syllable I say: and yet in this Extremity, I had as much to do to Preserve my Credit among my Pretending, Friends, as to Defend my Life against the Malice of my Professed Enemies.

MY first Step out of Prison, was into Kent, and There, (God knows it) had my Soul depended upon a strict Account for every Thought, and Moment; I could not have employ'd more Care, and Zeal, in the Performance of my Duty, than I did: Yet in the very height of our Success, being grown to a Considerable Body, even out of Nothing, It was Suggested that *L'estranger* was False: But That Opinion was soon Quieted, by a Discriminating Oath to the Commissioners at Rochester, which made those very Persons that had privately aspers'd Me, to withdraw; and diverse of them afterward appear'd openly against us. Upon the Dissolution of the Party, I Cross'd the Sea; and There I found the main Miscariage of the Businesse Cast upon Me; but still by Those that Ruin'd it Themselves. After a
Six.

134 Six Month's tryal, by Word of mouth, and Letter, to Rectifie Mistakes, I found my self at length obliged to a more Publique way of doing it, and then, I Printed a Formal *Series*, and Relation of the Story; under the Title of my *Vindication*. This Discourse prov'd as Effectual as I wish'd it; For, insisting only upon matter of Fact, with every Circumstance of *Persons*, *Time*, and *Place*, Material to my Purpose, there remain'd no Pretense for Contradiction; and yet I made it my great Care, as well to Disperse Copies, as to provoke a Reply, if any Syllable of what I said would bear it. The Sum of all amounts to This. I gave a due Account of all Employments which the Country put upon me, nor could I reasonably be charged as Causal to any Miscarriages, when there hapened none, while I had any Interest in the Business. At last, upon the Conjunction of the County-Forces, finding some Dangerous, and Unseasonable disagreements, even among themselves; besides some Scruples started against Strangers, I thought it the best Service I could do them, to render that Command I had, to the Commissioners, and leave Them to Respond, both for the Conduct, and the Issue of the Rest. Nor having done This, did I quit my Duty; but after the losse of *Maidstone*, I mov'd the Committee at *Canterbury*, (although in vain) to give another Push for't. From Thence, I went to *Sandwich*, where finding the Town in a Tumult, and Abandon'd; The Sea Before me, and the Enemy Behind me, I took a Bote, and with much Difficulty, Escaped.

So much for KENT.

I Continu'd beyond Sea, from 1648. till the Army dissolv'd the *Rump* in 1653. and then Returning, after 2 or 3. Months daily Attendance, I was Examin'd by a Committee of the Council, and in the End discharg'd from that Attendance, upon 1000^l. Bayl, to Appear at any time within 12. Months, upon Summons.

After that Bond given, I challenge the World to say, where
ever

ever I exchang'd Syllable either with the *Protector*, or his *Secretary*: or that ever I Communicated, Directly, or Indirectly, with any man of the Party, upon Publique Business. Nay more: Let any man prove that I did ever disown my First Judgement: — That ever I took any *Engagement*: — That I ever held any Particular Converse with any person of Differing Principles: — or, in Fine: — Let it appear that ever I either declined any Rationall means of serving my Prince, my *self*, or Diverted *others* from it; Nay if I am not able to Evidence the contrary; and that I have steadily, and Positively employed all the Faculties, and Interests I had in the World, in his behalf, I am content to suffer, as if I had been the Murtherer of his Father.

During the Rule of *Cromwell*, there was small Encouragement, to Form any Design, unlesse upon his Person. For Betwixt diverse Renegado-Royallists, and Mercenary Male-contents of his own Party, it was scarce possible to Act without Discovery: beside, that he was *Quick* and *Cruell*. (Two great Advantages over a slavish People) His *Death* in 1658. opened the way most certainly to a *Change*, but That which entred upon it, in 1659. was of all others (I think) the Least expected.

Severall of the Old Members finding the Councell of Officers at a Stand, (having Cast off their new Protector) Solicited the *Army* to Invite their Return to a Discharge of their Trust as before Apr. 20. 1653. This was done, May 6 1659. and the next Day, (as if these Worthies had but held their Breath, from 53, to 59) they Blurted out a Declaration against *Kingship*, & House of *Peers*. This Insolence gave a fair Plea, and Opportunity to the People; and they disposed themselves to a generall Rising in *August* following: but the Issue of all depending upon the City of *London*, where the *Militia* was placed in Ill Hands; much good was not to be expected. Sir *Henry Vane* had Lifted privately as many Separatists as he Pleas'd, and the City stood in more danger of that secret Faction, than of any visible Power that ap-

peared to over-awe it. The Citizens were generally Hearty in the Business; and with the Allowance of severall of them, (*Lambert* being upon his March toward Sir *George Booth*) I caused to be Printed this ensuing Declaration under the Title of

The DECLARATION of the CITY, to the Men at Westminster.

GENTLEMEN,

WE have waited for the good you have promised us; with a ridiculous Patience: but we finde you Men of the *Originall*, and to be read backward. We are for the Religion of the *Heart*, not That of the *Nose*; and for the *Law* of the *Land*, not that of the *Sword*; we are likewise for the *Charter* of the *City*, and for the *Liberties* of *Free-born Englishmen*; with which we are resolved to Stand and Fall. It is high time for us to look to our selves, when we are comming under a Guard of your Chusing, and when we have onely this Choice left us, whether we will *Adventure to destroy You to Day*, or be sure to be destroyed our selves to *Morrow*. That's the short of the Case; for, a *Massacre* is not onely the *Design*, but the *profession* of the Party you have Armed against us; 'tis their very Exchange-talk at noon day; But the work will be either too hot, or too heavy; for my Masters, we are determin'd to suffer these affronts no longer, we are now come to understand one another, *The Ruine of the Nation is Your Interest, the Peace and Preservation of it, Ours*, and the mischief of it is; your destruction is as *Ease*, as 'tis *Necessary*: for every Creature which either Loves *God*, or his *Coun-try*, *Hates You*. You have not so few as 200000 Enemies in This Town, to dispute the Quarrell with some halfe a dozen of you; not to multiply words, your *Practices* are such as a *Generous Nature* cannot *Brook*, and your *Power* so *despicable*, that a *Coward* needs not *Fear* it. You have made the *City* but a *Cage* of *Broken Merchants*; *Tradesmen* are ready to Perish for want of *Business*;

finesse; and their Families for want of Bread; nor have the Poor any other Employment than to Curse you. Those few amongst you that have any thing, are but Covered with the Spoiles of the Nation, and out of the Scum of the People you have composed your inconsiderable Rest. Well Gentlemen play your own Cards your selves, Wee'll play Ours: you'll have no Single Person in the State, wee'll have none neither in the City; at least, we'll have no *White-Hall-Major*; we will neither extend our Priviledges an Inch, nor abate an Hair of them. And in the matter of Blood-shed, so let Heaven prosper Us, as we shall proceed tenderly: But if there be no other way left us than violence whereby to preserve our selves in our Just Rights, what Power soever shall presume to Invade the Priviledge of a Citizen, shall finde 20000 Brave Fellows in the Head on't.

This we doe Unanimously Remonstrate to You, and to the World to be our Firm, and Finall Resolution.

THIS Dispute Lasted not Long; and *Lambert's* return put an End to any further thoughts of sitting in the City, for that Bout.

The next Opportunity of Moving, was upon the Dispatch of the Army into the *North* to oppose *General Monck*: The Government being then Lodg'd in a Committee of 23 Officers of the Army: which gross Usurpation, together with the *New Militia* which they had Imposed upon the City, (*Nov. 11.*) put the Citizens upon an Absolute Necessity of Endeavour to Free themselves: To which end, they resolv'd to Petition the *Common Counsell*, for their Assistance towards the obtaining of a *Free-Parliament*, according to the Antient Constitution of the Nation. A Petition was accordingly Drawn, Subscribed, and Presented; but by reason of some pretended Informality in the Address, it was laid aside. This Repulse made the Petitioners more Eager than they would have been; especially finding themselves Be-

tray'd by diverse of those Persons to whom they had committed the Case of their Protection.

Upon Monday, Dec. 5. Horse and Foot were dispatch'd into the City, by Violence to hinder the Re-enforcement of the Petition, where they behaved themselves with an Insolence, and Barbarism, not to be express'd. In this Action, had the Magistracy been but half so carefull to Vindicate the Honour of the City, as they were to save the Enemies of it, not a soul of them had scaped.

After some 5 or 6 Dayes expectation what this Affront would produce; I thought it not amisse, if I could use some meanes to Quicken them; and thereupon I Printed a Paper Entitled,

The Engagement and Remonstrance of the City of London.

DECEMBER 12. 1659.

ALthough, as *Citizens*, wee are reduced to a Necessity of Violence; and as *Christians*, obliged to the Exercise of it; Unless we will rather prostitute our *Lives and Liberties, Fortunes and Reputations*; Nay, our very *Souls and Altars*, to the Lusts of a *Barbarous and sacrilegious* Enemy: We have yet so great a tenderness for Christian blood, as to leave unattempted no means of probability to save it. This is it which hath prevaill'd with us to Declare, First, to the World, what we *Propose*, and *Resolve*, ere wee proceed to further Extremities: and to *satisfie* the *Publique*, as well in the *Reasons* of our Undertakings, as to *Justifie* our selves, in the *Menage* and *Event* of them.

We find, in the Midst of us, the *House of Prayer* converted into a *Den of Thieves*: Our *Counsels* Affronted by *Armed Troups*, our *Fellow-Citizens* knock'd on the head, like *Dogs*, at their own doors,
for

for not so much as *Barking*: Nay, 'tis become Death, now, to desire to Live, and Adjudg'd Treason, but to Claim the benefit of the Law against it. Witnesse thole *Infamous Murders* committed, but Monday last, upon our *unarmed friends*: and the glorious *Insolencies* of that *Rabble*, towards such of the rest, as they seized, and carried away. But this is nothing: to make us a Compleat *Sacrifice*, we are to bee *Burnt* too: a thing, not only *threatned*, in the Passion of the Tumult, but Soberly *intended*; for they have layd in their Materials for the work already: (a *prodigious Quantity of Fire-Balls in Pauls, and Gresham College*) Briefly, We are design'd for *Fire, and Sword, and Pillage*: and it concerns us now, to look a little better to our *gratious Guards*. (Not to insist upon the losse of Trade; how many thousand Families have nothing now to do, but *Begg, and Curse* these wretches?) The *Honour and Safety* of the City lies at stake: and God so bleesse us, as wee'll fall together. Wee will not live to see our Wives, and Daughters ravish'd: our Houses Rifled, and our Children Beggars, that shall only live to Reproach their cowardly Fathers: and all this done too by a People, which we can as *easily destroy, as mention*: by a Party, so *barbarous*, and so *Inconsiderable together*, that, certainly, no creature can be *mean* enough, either to *suffer the one*, or *fear the other*. In this Exigency of Affairs, we have found it both our *Duty* and our *Interests* to *Associate*; and wee desire a Blessing from Heaven upon us, no otherwise, than as we do *vigorously*, and *faithfully* persue what we here Remonstrate.

First; We do engage our selves, in the presence of Almighty God; with our lives and fortunes, to defend the Rights and Liberties of the City of LONDON; and if any person that subscribes to this Engagement, shall be molested for so doing; We will unanimously, and without delay, appear as one Man to his Rescue.

Next; we demand, that all such *Troups and Companies*, as doe not properly belong to the *Guard of the City*, nor receive *Orders* from the *lawfull Magistrates thereof*; — that such Forces *withdraw* them.

themselves from the Liberties, within 12. hours after the Publication of This : upon pain of being deemed *Conspiratours*, and of being *Proceeded against accordingly*, (for to this extent, both of Judgement, and Execution, is every Individual qualified in his own defence)

We are next, to demand the Enlargement of our Fellow-Citizens, which were taken away by Force, and in a tumultuous manner, contrary to the known Laws of the Place, and Nation.

This being performed, we shall acquiesce, in the Enjoyment of those Liberties, which we will not lose but with our Lives. In Fine, to remove all Impediments of the peace we desire: Wee do undertake, both as Men of Credit, and Justice; that such of the Souldiers as will betake themselves to honest Employments, shall receive their Arrieres from the City, and such a further care of their future well-being, as is suitable to the Necessities of the One part, and the Charity of the Other.

THis Paper was so well received, that it encouraged me to follow it with Another, Entitled,

The Final Protest, and Sense of the City.

HAVING diligent'y perused two Printed Papers, bearing date, the 14th. of this instant December: The One, in form of a Proclamation concerning the summing of a Parliament: The Other, as an Order of the Common Counsell, commanding the City to acquiesce in expectation of That Parliament: We finde therein contained, matters, so contrary to the Honour of the Nation, and to the Freedom of the City, that we stand obliged, both as English-men, and as Citizens, to Protest, against the Impositions of the former, as Illegal, and the Concessions of the Latter, as a direct Combination against us. These Two Papers are seconded by a Third: (for

(for the *Two* are *One*, both in effect, and design,) and That is, a *Proclamation of Banishment*, directing to the late Kings party, under the notion of the Common Enemy: so that there's no love lost betwixt the *Committee of Safety*, and the *Common Council*, when the *General* provides for the *Peace* of the *City*, and the *Mayor* for the *Safety* of the *Army*; not to argue *Acts of Oblivion*, and the violation of *Publique faith* in the case: that they *Conditioned* for their *Lives* and *Liberties*, and *Compounded* for their *Fortunes*. This is not our *Concern*, what they do suffer; but what we may, if we trust these, that *Keep no Faith* with them: And that we'll take a care of: When They are Gone, then We are the *Common Enemy*; So are the *Laws of God*, and of the *Nation*, and such is every *Man* that loves them. What this *Malignant party* is, these *People* talk of, we neither *Know*, nor *Meddle*, the *Gentry* 'tis we Live by, and by the *Laws* of *Gratitude*, and *Hospitality*, we are bound to *Protect* them, and resolved to do it, within our *Walls*, against any other *Power*, than that of the *Known Law*. The short of the *Design* is This; a *Danger* is pretended to the *City*, from the late *Kings party*, and to prevent the mischief, the *Kind Committee* *Banishes* the *Gentlemen*; with Order to the *Mayor* to make strict searches for *Delinquents*. Now in pursuance of this precious Order, our *Houses* must be forced, and we *Disarmed*, and then, our *throats* cut, to preserve the *City*. Let those that would be *Chronicle*d for *Slaves*, and *Fools*, submit to suffer this; and after that *Infamous Hour*, may a *Tellow Coat*, and a *Wooden Dagger*, be the *Badge* and *Distinction* of a *Citizen*. To conclude, We our selves are *That City*, so much the *Care* and *Cry* of the *Proclamation*; and This is our *Unanimous sense*, and *Resolve*. The *Army* proposes to *Pillage*, and *Murder* us, the *Mayor*, and his worthy *Advisers*, *Ireton*, &c. — are to hold our *Hands*, while They give the *Blow*; So, that we are now to provide both against *Force* and *Treason*; having *One Enemy* within our *Walls*, and *Another* in our *Counsels*. But withall, we have our *Swords* in our *Hands*, and our *Brains* in our *Heads*; and only to *Strike* the *One*, and to *Disbelieve* the *Other*, is to *Subdue*, and *Disappoint* them Both.

We

284 We do therefore declare to the World, that we will by *Violence* oppose all *Violence* whatsoever, which is not warranted by the Letter of the *Established Law*: & that in pursuance of this Duty, both toward the *Nation*, and *City*, an *Insolent Souldier*, and an *Apostate Magistrate* shall be to us as the same thing. — Not to word it much further, as we will not be *Baffled*, by *Affronts*, so neither will we be *Foiled*, by *Flatteries*.

After the Loss of Trade and Liberty, a vast expence of Blood, and Treasure; After *many Injuries received, more threatned, and none returned*, We made a sober, and Regular *Application*, to the *Authority* of the *City*, for *Redress*. This they *Promised*, and wee *Expected*, till at last, instead of a *Reparation for past Wrongs*, or a *Security against worse to come*; VVe are paid with an *Expectation* of a *Parliament* in *January*. This is a *Logique* we understand not. It is in *English*, *Lye still, till we cut your throats*. It would be well to commit the disposition of our Fortunes, to those people, that are at this Instant designing an Execution upon our Persons; and to requite those *Worshies*, that have already *Robb'd* us of all we have *Lost*, with the *Offer* of that little *Rest* they have *Left*. But this will not doe our *Bulinesse*; we will not have our *Murderers*, for our *Judges*: nor will we wait. That *Parliament* they *babble* of so much, will scarce *Vote* up the *City* again out of *Ashes*, nor all the *Saints* in that holy *Assembly*, bring the *poor Cobler* into the world again, that was *Kill'd* by order of his *Brother Hewson*. No, the *Cheat* is too *stale*, and wee are *Determined* to *Redeem* our selves; but with this *Caution*, VVe do solemnly *professe*, that we will exercise all the *Tenderness* which possibly the *Case* will bear: The *Common Sculdier* is engaged rather out of a *Heedless*, than *Malicious Interest*: VVe do therefore *Protest*, that such of those as shall not evidence their *Malice*, by their *Obstinacy*, shall receive a *Fair Consideration*: But, for such as *Lead* them, we do *Resolve*, not to allow *Quarter* to any one of them, that draws his *Sword* in the *Quarrel*: And in Order to the *Quicker*, and *Gentier Dispatch* of the *Business*: Wee conclude with a *Text*, *Fight neither with Small*

nor Great, but wish the King of Israel. And so God give a Blessing to the Endeavours of all Honest Men.

THIS Sheet gave great offence to the Saints, and particularly to *Titchborn*, who examined the Matter himself, and ordered the punishment of the Women that told it, after many Personal Abuses, beside the Loss of their Copies.

Dec. 18. Divers persons of Quality were seized in the City, by the Soldiers, and in a Barbarous, Unseemly manner, Stript, and Driven Naked to the Mewes.

Soon after, comes Intelligence, that the Forces employ'd to Reduce *Portsmouth*, were joyn'd with the *Fugitive Members*, and upon their March for *London*: whereupon I caused to be Printed as followes.

The Resolve of the City.

Decemb. 23. 1659.

OUR Respects to *Peace*, and *Order*, are too notorious to be questioned, since by the meer Impressions of *Charity* and *Obedience*, wee have thus long suspended the Justice wee owe to our Selves, together with that *Vengeance*, which the Blood of our Murthered Companions requires at our hands. Nor have these Principles of Publique tenderness been lesse Eminent, upon our Judgements, than upon our Passions; For, we have as well Believ'd, in Contradiction to Evidence of Experiment, as wee have Suffered, in Opposition to the very Elements, and Dictates of Humanity. Witnesse that Execrable Monday (sacred to the Eternal Infamy of this City) even Then, when we had that Enemy at our Mercy, toward whom, by the Rights of Nature, and of Generosity, wee were not bound to exercise any; even Then, I say, in the very Heat, and Course of an Honest, and Powerfull Indignation, we returned Quietly, to our Houses, upon the first Notice, that

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the

the *Authority* of the City would have it so. But it is likewise true, that this Assurance was added to the Message, *viz. That the Common counsel was sensible of our Grievances, and would duly consider them.* Since this, we find nothing done in pursuance of that Promise; but on the Contrary, Injuries are Multiplied upon us, and those of that Day, serve but as Arguments of Encouragement to Greater. *Some of us Killed, Others Wounded, and lead in Triumph Naked through the Streets: Two or three Hundred Thousand Persons Looking on, to celebrate the Conquest, and the Shame.* A Citizens Skul is but a thing to try the Temper of a Souldiers Sword upon; Give us every Man a Red-coat for a Cash-keeper, and the work's done. They're come within a Trifle on't already, and all this while, an Order to be *Quiet*, is all our Patient Masters will afford us. Give us an Order that may make us Safe, (although we need not *Ask*, what we can Give our selves) *Perswade* these people to be *Gone*, or *Bid us Drive them out*; What *Law* made *Pauls*, and *Gresham Colledge, Garrisons*? If nothing else will do, we'll do't our selves: We have *Engaged*, and *sworn the Vindication of the City*, and nothing can *Absolve* us from the *Oath* we have taken. This must be done betimes too, 'twill come too late else, to prevent, either the Necessity of a Tumult, or the greater Mischief, of a Supine and Credulous Security. *A Parliament in January* will do us no more good, than a Cordial will do him that was *Hanged* last Sessions. Our Sense at Large, we delivered to the world, in a Paper, Entituled, *The Final Protest, and Sense of the CITY*: VVhich is Publique enough, notwithstanding the great Design used to suppress it, and the Insolences of divers persons, disaffected to the good of the City, toward those that sold them. *To That we adhere.* That *Protest* of *Ours*, produced *Another* from the *Common counsel*, of the 20th. Current, to which something ought to bee said. The sum of that Order is, but in effect, the Justification of the Lord Mayor, in the matter of Prudence and Integrity: we do not Deny, but finding our selves abandoned to all sorts of Outrages, by the Cold Proceeding of the Court in our behalf,

we were transported to some bitter Reflections : Involving the present Mayor, with his more Criminal Predecessor Ireton, in the Imputation. We shall not more Gladly find it a Mistake, than Readily Confeß it one, when we reap the Effects of that Care for the Good of the City; but so long as Wee are tyed up from all Lawfull Defence, and the Publique Enemy at liberty to practise all unlawfull Violences upon us, we desire to be Pardoned, if we suspend in the Case.

The Cloze indeed is very Noble, and worthy of the Court, where they Declare, *For the Fundamental Lawes, and the Protestant Religion, &c.* — and in fine, to endeavour the convening of a Free Parliament, in order thereunto. But in Contradiction to this Resolve, the Committee of Officers have yesterday published a Paper, Entituled, *The Agreement, &c.* — fairly telling us, That we are to be Governed by People of their Chusing, and by a Model of their framing, without any regard had to the Practice, and Reason of the Antient Laws, or to the Interest, and Liberty of every Freeborn English-man. This Usurpation is to be considered in its due place; at present it concerns us, to hinder them from making the Slavery of the City, their first Step towards the Subjection of the Nation. The seasonable Care of This, we do Humbly, and Earnestly recommend to the Court of Common-counsel; Our Hopes are, that we are now fallen into Better hands, and if our Magistrates will but Command us, they have an Hundred Thousand Lives in readines to Engage for them. If we should be so unhappy, as to be still delayed; wee do however wash our hands of the Consequences: And so God Direct and Deliver us.

Observing how much more Unanimous the Army was to Destroy Us; than We, to Save our Selves: and Finding nothing extant of Direction to the Necessary purpose of an universal Union: I presumed to Publish a Paper, containing what I

judg'd might Rationally *Promote* such an *Agreement*, under the Notion of a thing already done. It runs Thus.

A FREE PARLIAMENT *Proposed by the CITY*
to the NATION.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING certain Intelligence of great Preparations against us from *Abroad*, together with the daily and wofull experience, of a more Barbarous, and Ignoble Enemy at *Home*: we have bethought our selves of an Expedient, which may at once, both *Secure*, and *Deliver* the Nation from the *Danger* of the *One*, and from the *Tyranny* of the *Other*.

In order to this effect: *The City of London hath constituted 4 Commissioners, to Treat Respectively with the rest of the People of England, in the behalf of their invaded Rights, and in such manner to Proceed, as to the said Commissioners shall appear most convenient.*

In pursuance of this Appointment; *We Four*, (whose Names, and Authority you shall find in a Schedule, to this annexed) do, in the *Name*, and by the *Commission* of the *City of London*, earnestly and unanimously desire a *General Assistance*, toward a work of a *Publique and Universal Benefit*. The transaction of this Affair, we have committed to Persons, eminent both for *Honesty* and *Fortune*: and to gain Dispatch, as well as *Privacy*, wee have at the same Instant, and by safe hands, dispersed True and Exact Copies of These to you, throughout *England* and *Wales*. Our Application should have been more Regular, but for three or four false Brethren in our Counsels, whom wee dare not confide in. *We find few th: Honestest for the Quarrel, thar are the Richer for it; and no other Enemies to the Peace of the Nation, but the Gainers by the Ruine of it.* Upō a due scanning of the whole mitter, we have concluded, that *nothing can restore us but a Free Parliament*: Nor can any thing compose that, but a *Free Voie*, without either *Force*, or *Faction*. The most likely means to procure this, will be a *general Engagement*,

Engagement, to endeavour it. We ask no more, than that you will follow our Example. That Paper, which we commend to you, is already subscribed by many Thousands of this City. If you Approve it, doe as much; and if you think Fit, *chuse out of every County Two Persons of a Known Integrity, that may be Still Among us, and at hand, to preserve a fair Intelligence betwixt us.* No longer since, than Yesterday, the *Conservators of our Liberties*; Hewson and his *Mirmidons*, put an affront upon us, and with some mischief too, upon this very Point: The very mention of a *Free-Parliament* enrages them, and there is Reason for it. *Their Heads are forfeited, and if the Law Lives, They must Perish.* But all this while, we're in a good condition, when the *Transgressors* of the Laws must be the *Judges* of it. The very *Boyes*, and *Women* had destroyed the Party to a man, but that with much adoe, we hindred them. The Truth is, in such a Confusion, more honest blood might have been spilt, than that Rabble was worth. Upon this, the City is grown so impatient of the Souldiers, that 'tis to be feared they will sodainly break out into an open violence upon them. They have already entred into a solemn Engagement to that purpose: But we shall doe our best to quiet them, till we receive your Answer. In Fine; the *End* is honorable, and we desire the *means* that lead to it may be so too. Let nothing be omitted that may save blood; The Army is necessitous, and without pay, they must or Steal, or Perish. Let us consider, they are our *Countrey-men*, and many of them, (the necessity apart) our *Friends*. Let such a course be taken, that so many of them as shall contribute to the Advantage of a Free Election, may without either *Fraud*, or *Delay* receive their *Arriars*. We shall do our part in the Contribution, and in all Offices of Relation to a *Religious* and *Lawfull Settlement*, as freely engage our *Lives* and *Fortunes* with you, as we do our *Pens* in this Profession to you, that we are

True English men, and your Servants.

Decemb. 6. 1659.

THE

THE ENGAGEMENT.

WE the Free-born people of England, having for many years last past, been subjected in our Consciences, Persons, and Estates, to the Arbitrary, and Lawlesse Impositions of Ambitious, and Cruell-minded men; & finding our selves at present, in danger to be Irrecoverably lost; partly by Invasions, threatened us from Abroad, and partly by Factions encroaching upon us at Home, without the seasonable mediation of a Free-Parliament: We do Declare, that we will by all Lawfull means Endeavour the Convening of it, and that we will, afterward, Protect the Members of it as the Blood of our own Hearts. We do further Engage, in the Presence of Almighty God, that if any person or Persons whatsoever shall presume to Oppose us; or to impose upon us any other Government, Inconsistent with, or Destructive to the Constitution of Parliaments, we will prosecute him, or them, as the Betrayers of the Peoples Rights, and Subverters of the Fundamentall Laws of the English Nation.

To the Honorable the Commissioners of the City of London, for the Liberties and Rights of the English Nation.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING already satisfied you by what Authority we Act, it concerns us next, to acquaint you, to what purpose we are Sent, and what it is, which we have in Charge to deliver unto you.

Your Proposals for the Settlement of the Nation, (and That, by the means of a Free-Parliament) have been as Faithfully, and Generally communicated, as you intended they should; as Kindly received as you could wish; and the whole matter brought to as speedy an issue as was possible for an Affair of that Weight, and Quality to admit. In Testimony hereof, We are to give you the Thanks of the People of England; and to assure you, that they are

are not less *pleas'd* with your *Method* of promoting the Publick Good, than they are *Oblig'd* by those *Afflictions* which have dispos'd you to endeavour it. Particularly, they are exceeding glad to find, that the City hath entrusted such Persons in the Business, as, beside all other due Qualifications for the Employment, have This also; that they were never Parties in the Quarrell. It hath been our Care likewise, to proceed by the same rule; and for this Reason, *If Both Parties should be taken in, there might (possibly) be some Animosities started, sufficient to obstruct the Proceeding: And again, should Either of them be left out, the matter would (probably) be carried by Ballot.*

This we are commanded to represent, rather as a *Fair Expedient*, than an *Absolute Necessity*.

In the next place, we are to inform you, that the Engagement you sent us, found so prone a Reception, that we reckon it, with us, a greater difficulty to Find an Enemy to the Intent of it, than to Subdue any whatever, that shall presume to appear against the Promoters of it. We do however hold our Selves bound to assure you, that we are perfectly resolv'd to Joyn in the Charge, and Hazard of the Dispute, with you: and that we are as Unanimous in This Cause, as if the Treasure of the Nation had but one Master, and the Strength of it, were but directed by the Same Mind. The List of the Subscribers, we have here in Town: If you desire to see it you may: but if Otherwise, we offer to your Prudence to consider, if it may not be of more Advantage, and Security to the Business in hand, rather totally to conceal the Subscribers, if not also the Commissioners themselves. For the Thing it self, we are not only Willing, but Desirous to make That Publique. It is of so Honest, and Reasonable a Nature, that no Man *Dares* oppose It, who dares not be Damn'd; no man *Will*, that deserves to Live upon English ground: and to conclude, no Man *Shall*, and escape Unpunish'd. *Parliaments* are the Constitution Fundamentall of the Nation, the Safeguard, and the Honor of it: nor are we more concern'd to Support them, than to be

be wary lest we *Mistake* them. We are to Distinguish betwixt *Names* and *Things*, that we be not govern'd by *Delusions*; Where have we a greater *Cheat*, than that which stiles it self the *Publique Faith*? Greater *Subverters* of our *Liberties*, than some that write themselves, the *Conservators* of them? 'Tis not for 40 people to call themselves our *Representative*. Is't not enough that they have Robb'd us, unless they Govern us too? They'll say we *Chose* them, so did we chuse above 300 more; and we'll be *Rul'd* by *All*, or *None* of them. Without more adoe, having Formally assured you of an absolute *Concurrence* from the *Nation*, as to what they have received in Proposition from you: It remains now, only that we recommend some *Additional*s to you, which we conceive may be of some Benefit to the *Common Interest* of the whole.

In the First Place we Propose, *That no Petition* be presented to this *Pretended Parliament*, from the *City of London*, and we *Under-take* as much for our *Selves*.

Secondly, *That no Levies of Men, or Monies*, be suffered, in pursuance of their *Pretended Acts*; and in case of any Force attempted upon the *Refusers*, that we *immediately Arm* our *Selves*, and by *Violence Repell* it.

Thirdly, we judge it very fit, in regard of *Dangers Imminent*, both *Forein*, and *Domestique*, *That a Free Parliament*, be speedily convened; the *Time and Manner of Summons* instantly agreed upon, with a *Salvo Jure* to all *Interests*. — (By a *Free Parliament*, we understand, an *Assembly* of such *Persons* as by the *Law* are *Qualified* to chuse, without any other *Restreins* than what the *Law* imposes.) Not that we claim to our selves the *Right of Calling Parliaments*; but the *Impossibility* of procuring one *Regularly*; and the *Absolute Necessity* of having something like one *Suddenly*: — This is enough to acquit us before *God and Men*. By these means, all *Differences* may be composed, all *Parties reconciled*; and to These purposes we are ready to *Sacrifice* our *Lives*, and *Fortunes*.

GENTLEMEN,

January 3. 1659.

We are your faithfull Servants.

Upon

UPON the 17 of Jan. Mr. Bampffield, the Recorder of Exeter, delivered a Leading Declaration, to the Pretended Speaker, from the Gentry of Devonshire: Demanding the Readmission of the Secluded Members, and filling up of Voyd Places: without any Previous Engagement. This Netled the Ramp, and Drew from Them, Another Declaration, (Jan. 23.) wherein they express'd all Tenderneſs poſſible for the Publique, in a Fawning, Canting way: and eſpecially Inſiſting upon ſuch Particulars, as might render their Deſign of ſetting in a Free-State, the more Plauſible to General Monck: who was now as far as Leiceſter toward London.

This Declaration, moved me to Print this Enſuing Paper.

A PLAIN CASE. Jan. 24. 1639.

IT were no hard Matter to Trace the *Course of Government*, thorough all it's ſeveral *Forms*, and *Mixtures*, from the very *Fountain* of it; and to *Deduce* the *Story*, from it's *Original* in *Paradiſe*, down to this wretched *Place*, and *Instant*. The *Sanction*, and *Aſſignment* of it being proved, (That the *Almighty Wiſdom* placed ONE RULER over the World) Enquiry might be made into the *Reaſons*, and *Equity* of thoſe enſuing *Changes*, which, either *Force*, *Craſh*, or *Agreement* afterward produced. To come a little neerer *Home*: much might be added, concerning our *Religion*, *Parliaments*, *Magna Charta*, &c. — but the *Preſſe* groans under the *Subject*, and the *Nation* under the *Diſpute*. *Conviction* puts an end to *Argument*. The *Queſtion* is no longer, *Rights*, but *Power*; and our *Reasonings* are only Answered with *Blowes*. It's true, — in the *Infancy* of the Quarrell, when *Rebellion*, like a *Painted Whore*, under the *Masque* of *Loyalty*, and *Conſcience*, Cheated the *People* into an *Engagement*: when only ſome *Mis-governments*, in *Church* and *State* were to be *Reformed*; and that *Pretence* baſk't with a *Thouſand Oaths*, to ſtrengthen the *Deuſion*: *Dominion* and *Obedience*, *Law* and *Conſcience*, were then a *Proper*, and a *neceſſary Theame*, to undeceive the

the World: But now 'tis out of Season. The *Sword* is the only
Judge of Controversies. Our Business is, to Talk more Sensibly,
 and less *Leisurely*. Alas! to tell the Simple, that which they
 can never understand, and the Wise, that which they know already:
 Who's the better sort? The *Injuries* we suffer, are *Notorious*;
 and *Universal*, as well. The skill would be, to
 find out a *Plur* Remedy, for a *Foul* Disease. In order to that, I
 shall be Plain, and short: Prove what I say, and keep my self
 within the Compasse of my Page. This *Nation* is at this instant,
 upon the Brink of a *Reprochfull*, and *Ridiculous* Condition of
want, and *slavery*: Nor is the *Truth* of our Calamity more evi-
 dent, than the *Reason* of it. Half the Revenue of the Land is al-
 ready shared among the *Saints*, and in Reward, for robbing us of
That, we are to Give the *Rest*, and purchase our *Bondage*, dearer
 than our *Forefathers* did their *Liberties*. Indeed, a *Hundred*
Thousand Pounds a Month, when we have scarce Money left for
 Bread, is a modest Proportion: and to endear the Proposition to
 us, 'tis to maintain a warre against the established Law, and con-
 sume our *Thraldome*: After this Tax is paid, they'll Ask no
 more, but Take the rest without the Ceremony: and we de-
 serve to Lose All, if we Levy This. By *Violence*, they keep
 themselves *in*, and their *Fellows Out*; By *Violence*, they *Sit*, and
Vote, and *Excuse*. They're not the *Twentieth* part of those we
 Chose; and then the *Quality* of the Faction, is as Inconsiderable,
 as the *Number*. The *Nation* looks upon them, as a Herd of
Wolves, who live by Blood and Rapine, and in the *Publique* Inte-
 rest to *Harm* them. They are too Few for us to Fear, too False to
 Trust, too *Wicked*, and *Impetuous*, to Obey. 'Tis not their *Faniza-
 rils* that will do their Business, when the whole *Body* of the
People is united against them. The very *Soldier* that hath Raised
 them, *Turns* on, as being, at once, *Instrumental* to their *Guilt*,
 and so their *Punishment*. They are neither to be Obligated by
Oathes, nor by *Benefits*. How meanly have they treated the
 very *Officers* that preserved, and Restored them; and Perfid-
 iously,

ously, all that ever Trusted them ! Those Summes which were designed for the Satisfaction of Publike Accompts, they divide among themselves, and Turn those Troops to Free-quarter, whole Pay is already in their own Pockets. After all this, the *Laws* must be as well *subdued*, as the *People* : no other Title left us to our Lives, and Estates, but what depends upon the Vote of a Legislative Committee. It is already constituted *Section*, to Demand, what the *Law* tells us, is *Treason to Oppose* : and the bare mention of a *Free-Parliament* puts our *blessed remnant* into a Sweat. There's *Violence* designed upon us, and *Violence* must meet it. The *Axe* is laid to the root : the *Commune Freedom* of the *English Nation* lies at stake ; and 'tis our *Commune Interest* to defend it. The *Just*, and peaceable assertion of our *Undoubted rights*, is Voted *Breach of privilege* : and he that draws his *Sword* to save his *Country*, forfeits his head for't. This will not doe. These worthy *Squires* of the *Fagg end* must take their Turns too. Suppose the *City* should refuse the *Tax* : (the *Countries* are resolved upon't) How *Certain*, and *Inevitable*, is their *Ruine* ? The very first attempt of *Force*, sets the whole *Nation* in a *Flame*. They *Rise together*, and the *Work* is done. 'Tis not the stifling of the *Presse*, can break their *Correspondence* : nor the *Old Cheat* of *Creating New Plots*, that will divert them. These *Jugglers* have shewed all their *Tricks*, and the whole *World's* Convinced of their *Inten-tions*. The *Design* walks bare-fac'd. It is now evident, that they purpose to make us *perpetual Slaves* ; and to enure us to no other *Law*, than the *Imperious Will* of our hard *Masters*. Their very best *Friends* and *Assistants*, are now *disfranchised* by these *Thanklesse Wretches* : the *Scrupulous*, and *Congregational Party* being cast into the *Ballance* with the *Commune Enemy* : and both alike *Excluded* from the *Government* they promise us : (to shew, that their *Ambition* is as well *Insociable* as *Boundlesse*.)

To Finish All ; what *Security* or *Quiet*, can that *Faction* expect, which never *Requiesceth* a *Friend*, or *Spared* an *Enemy* ? What *Comfort* can that *Nation* look for, whose subjects is left to the *Faith* and *Mer-cy*, of such a *Faction* ?

UPON the 25 of Jan. Sir Robert Pye, and Major Fincher, were Ordered to the Tower, for Presenting and Subscribing a Declaration from Berkshe, for a Free and Full Parliament: It being Voted, *A Breach of the PRIVILEGE of PARLIAMENT: SEDITION, and tending to the Raising of a New War.* The Squires of the Rump; Scot, and Robinson were, by this Time, doing their Complements to his Excellency; and the City-Commissioners upon their way toward him: In which Juncture, came forth a Paper Entitled

A Letter of General George Monck's, Dated at Leicester 23. Jan. and Directed to Mr. Rolle, to be communicated unto the rest of the Gentry of Devon: — Occasioned by a Late Letter from the Gentry of Devon: dated at Exceter 14 Jan. and sent by Mr. Bampfild to the Speaker, to be communicated unto the Parliament.

Read in Parliament, Jan. 26.

To this Letter, I took the Liberty to Draw what follows in Answer. Addressed

To His Excellency, GENERAL MONCK.

A Letter from the Gentlemen of Devon in Answer to his Lordships of January 23. to them directed from Leicester.

My Lord,

There is a Letter which hath passed the Press under your Name, dated at Leicester 23. Jan. and directed unto Mr. Rolle, to be communicated to the rest of the Gentry of Devon: &c. — Whether this be your Excellencies Act or nor, is the question. If so it be, we receive it as a noble Respect from General Monck to his Friends and Country men; if Otherwise, we look upon it as the Artifice of an Anti-Parliamentary Faction, under the presence of your Conaurence and Aid, to Delude and Enslave the Nation.

It is one thing for a Person of Honour freely to communicate his Thoughts and Reasonings, (although in favour of a possible

mi-

mistake) still referring the Issue to the determinations of *Divinity*, and *Reason*: and it is *another thing*, for a *Confederate Party* to charge *such* a Person with failings properly *their own*.

To hasten the dispatch of that little we have to say, the Authors of this, are of that number to whom your Letter directs. We shall proceed according to our Duties, and Instructions, and briefly acquaint your Excellency with the sense of those that have entrusted us.

We shall begin (my Lord) with the *Concession* of what we much *Suspect*; and take for *Granted*, that the Letter so inscribed, is really *Tours*.

We are next to return you the *Thanks* of your *Country-men*, for the expressions of your *Piety* and *Care*, therein contained; and particularly, — *that in the head of your Army, you have rather chosen Arguments of Reason, than of Force.* — *That you propose the word of God, for your Rule; and the Settlement of the Nation, for your End.* — *That you take notice of many Factions, and Interests introduced, and yet profess a service to None of them.* — *That you so earnestly desire to Compose Old Differences at Home, and to Prevent New Mischiefs from Abroad.* — *And finally; That you submit the Result of all, to a Fair, and Rational Examination.*

To profess, and to pursue all this, is but like your self; and to these purposes, we shall not stick to live and dye at your Feet. If upon Discussion of the Reasons you alledge, we assume the Liberty which your Candour allows us, of declaring wherein we differ, we beg to be understood with all tenderness toward your Excellency; to whom, as a stranger to our late Oppressions and Calamities, the state of our Affairs, and Affections, may probably be misrepresented.

To observe your own Method; our Letter to the Speaker, importing the recalling of the Secluded Members was the occasion of *Tours* to Us; which says, that; *Before these Wars our Government was Monarchical, both in Church, and State; but (as the case now stands) Monarchy cannot possibly be admitted for the future.*

ture, in these Nations, because it is incompatible with the several Interests which have ensued upon the Quarrel: viz. the Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptists, &c. (as to Ecclesiasticks) and the Purchasers of Crown, and Bishops Lands, Forfeited Estates, &c. (as to Civils) by which means, the support it self is taken away; so that the Constitution, qualified to fix all Interests, must be that of a Republique: To which, the Secluded Members of 1648. will never agree, many of them being Assertours of Monarchy, and Disclaimers to all Lawes made since their Seclusion: Over and above, that the Army also will never endure it. The Conclusion, This, that it were better for us to desist from that Paper, and rely upon the Promises of this Parliament, for a due Representative: — a Provision for succeeding Parliaments, and a Peaceable Settlement; than by an unseasonable Impatience to embroil the Nation in a fresh Engagement.

From hence it appears, that we might be allowed a Free Parliament, but for Four Reasons.

First, The Major Part Inclines to Monarchy, and they that have swallowed the Revenues of the Crown, declare against it.

Secondly, The Entangled Interests of this Nation can never be united, but under a Republique.

Thirdly, The Army will never endure it.

Lastly, It would beget a new War, whereas this Parliament promises to settle us in a lasting Peace.

To all which, in Order, and First, concerning Monarchy; (not as the thing which we contend for) we (onely) wonder why it is Persecuted, and particularly, by those Persons who have sworn to defend it. But, my Lord, you have hit the Reason; they have Gained by Dissolving it, and they are afraid to Lose by Restoring it. Having put the Father to Death, whom they Covenanted to Preserve, they Abjure the Son, whom they Fear to Trust. By Force they would maintain, what by Force they have Gotten. In effect, the Question, is not so much, what Government, as what Govern-

ments:

hours: A Single Person will down well enough, with the fiercest of them, when it lies fair for any of Themselves. Witness the late Protector, and the later Lambers. Briefly, since the Death of the late King, we have been Govern'd by Tumult; Bandy'd from One Faction to the Other: Thus Parry up to day, That is Morrow, but still the Nation Under, and a Prey to the Strongest. It is a scoble Argument against Monarchy, that we never have been happy since we lost it: and yet nothing hath appeared to obstruct our Quiet, but the Division of the Booy. What Hath been, Shall be, so long as this Violence continues over us: nor can any other Government Settle the Nation, than that which pleases the Universality of it. And in that, we pretend not to direct our Representatives: but which way soever they encline, we shall with our Lives and Fortunes Justifie, and Obey their Appointments.

Whether we have Reason, or not, in this Particular, let your Excellency Judge.

The Second Objection against a Free Parliament, is drawn from the Necessity of a Republique, to reconcile all Interests. To This, we offer, First, that it is not Necessary; next, that it is not so much as Effectual, to that purpose; and Lastly, that a Free Parliament ought to Introduce it, if it were both the One and the Other.

The First we prove thus, It is not the Form of Government, but the Consent of the People, that must Settle the Nation: The Publike Debt, must be secured out of the Publique Stock; and That disposed of by an Engagement of the Publique Faith, to such Ends, and purposes, as the Representatives of the Nation shall deem expedient for the Good of it. In like manner may all other Interests be secured; whether of Opinion, or Property, under what Form of Government soever a Free Parliament shall think fit to unite us. That it is not Necessary, enough is said. We are now to deduce from your Lordships Text, that a Free-State would be as little effectual also, as to our concerns. You are pleased to intimate the Dangerous Inclination of the People to Monarchy; and to Ballance the Satisfaction, the Right, and the Universall Vote of the Nation, with the Interests

Interests of some Few persons, that would Rule in Themselves, (for that's the English of the Settlement they propose.) By this Argument, a Republique, excludes the Negative, and more Considerable Interest, in favour of a Small, and a Partial one: and if it be granted, that a Free Parliament will never agree upon a Free State, it follows necessarily, that That Form will never doe our Business. Lastly, what Government soever is forced upon us, must certainly expire with the Force that imposes it; and the Voice of the People (in this case) is the Declaratory Voice of Providence.

The Third Difficulty is. *The Army will never endure it.* This is to say, *You are to be Govern'd by the sword.*

To Conclude; The Fear of a New War, and the Promise of a speedy Composition, are the last Suggestions of Diffusion to us.

Alas, my Lord, doe we not see that Parties are uniting against us, Abroad, and we conspiring against our selves at Home? How certainly shall we be Attempted, and how easily Overcome, without such a Medium to Reconcile us All, as may Please us All! but we are promised fair. We beseech you Lordship to consider the Promisers. Are not These the People that vow'd to make our Last, a Glorious King? Just such a Glorious Nation will they make of Us. Did they not next Abjure a Single Person; and yet after that, set up ANOTHER, with Another Oath? Not to pursue this Subject further: These Men we dare not Trust, nor any other of that Leaven, we have have no thoughts but of Justice to all Interests; and in order to that Settlement and Good we wish the Nation, we shall empower our Representatives with the Command of all we are worth, and most remarkably evidence our selves, My Lord,

Your Excellencies Servants.

Jan. 28. 1659.

The

THe Generall was plyed with Addesses for a *Free-Parliament* throughout his whole Passage, and the Nation entirely Concurr'd to the same Effect. Upon *Tuesday* (Feb. 2.) a Considerable Party of the *Red-Coates*, Tumulted for Pay; Cast off their Officers, and Formally Engarrison'd themselves in *Somerst-House*: Publickly Reproaching the *Ramp*, and Declaring for the *City*, and a *Free-Parliament*. Finding the Citizens well enough disposed to improve the Matiny: I appointed Immediately the Printing of Two Papers, directing them to Associate, and in *These Terms*.

The SENSE of the ARMY.

WHereas the Calamities of this Unhappy Nation, are charged upon those that have ventured their Bloods for the preservation of it, We hold it necessary, to acquit our selves, both to God and Men, by declaring to these following Particulars:

First, That we will engage our Lives against all opposers of a Free-Parliament.

Secondly, That we will, according to the best of our Knowledge, observe, and cause to be observed, the Known Lawes of the Land.

Thirdly, That we will practice no violence, but what we are obliged to, by the Laws of Honesty, and Nature.

Lastly, That we will not leave our Quarters unsatisfied, nor lay down our Arms, without our Pay.

Somerst-House, Feb. 2. 1659.

The Citizens DECLARATION for a FREE PARLIAMENT

WEe the Young Men in and about London, doe unanimously Declare, That we will Assist, and protect, to our uttermost, what Party soever we shall find oppress, for desiring a FREE-PARLIAMENT; And that such of the Souldiery, as shall joyn with us in so necessary and just an

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*undertaking, shall receive half their Arriues upon the first Rendez-
vous, and the Rest upon the Accomplishment of the work.*

Feb. 2. 1659.

L Are at night, The Apprentices drew into a Party in the City, and were scattered by the Army Horse; whereas, had they rather drawn down into the Strand, and joyned themselves with Those in Somerset-House, it was believed by sober Persons, that they might have carried it. About One, in the Morning, the Revolted Party was False-Alarmed and perswaded out of their security, upon Pretense, that if they were not Instantly Posted, to hinder Monks Entrance into the Town, they would have all their Throats cut in their Quarters. This Device brought them out, and so That morning, they were Commanded away; Leaving the Town Quiet, and in Condition to entertain Honorable Guests. Upon Friday Afternoon (Feb. 3.) his Excellency marched in the Head of his Army to his Quarters at White-Hall: and the Day following, I took the Liberty to shoot another Bolt; under the Title, and Form here-ensuing.

For his EXCELLENCY Generall MONCK.

MY LORD,

Y Ou are too Wise, and Noble, to need either a Direction, or a Spur, where your Judgement, or Honor lies at Stake: And to tell you, that to make your self the Happiest Person in Nature, you must Deliver us from being the most Miserable People, is but to speak your birth Thoughts, and Purposes. Yet such is the Passion I have for your Personall, and for the Publique Good, that a Burthen lies upon my Soul, till I have given some Testimony of my Respects, and Tenderneſſe both for the One, and the Other, how superfluous soever, toward a Judgement, and Inclination, so well Qualified for the Knowledge and Practice, of what is Honorable.

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My Lord, We are a wretched People, and Providence hath put it in your power, to finish all our Troubles. The Eyes of *Men* and *Angels* are upon You, and the whole Nation courts You as their Tutelary Spirit. Never was any Action so easie, and so Glorious at once, as our Deliverance. 'Tis wrought without the hazzard, or expence either of *Blood*, *Time*, or *Treasure*. The *Hearts*, the *Hands*, and *Fortunes* of the People, are all at Your Devotion. Nay, lest You should submit to be misled by Popular Applause, *Ambition*, or any other *Frailty*; Heaven hath annexed Your *Interest* to Your *Duty*, (forgive the Language) You must be *Mad* too, to be *wicked*, and Quit all other Principles of Beneficiall Prudence, with those of commune Honesty and Conscience. Ballance (my Lord) the main Accompt. Heaven and Hell, are the Difference. *One way*, You are sure to be as *Great* and *Safe*, as *Love*, and *Gratitude* can make You; whereas all other Acquisitions are deceitfull. A word now of the means to effect our Quiet, and that with all due respect to better Reason.

First, In the Case of differing Perswasions, be pleased to form such an Expedient, that all may quietly enjoy, and exercise their opinions, so far as they Consist with the Word of God, and with the publique Peace.

Secondly, Appoint an *Act* of Oblivion to be drawn (if you please) as Comprehensive of all Interests, as care, and skill can make it; and after this, let a Free-Parliament be called (with this previous Engagement imposed upon them) That they shall first secure these two Particulars of Conscience and Property, according to the true Intention of the Parties therein Concerned, ere they proceed further; and that they may then apply themselves to other Debates at Liberty, and settle what Government they shall think fit. This I presume not to deliver as the Arrogant Imposition of a single Person; but I doe offer it humbly, as the sense of a Numerous, and Sober party. Some Mutinous and Peevish Spirits there are, whom nothing can please, but what displeases all the World beside. It were pitty,

to alter the whole Frame of the Law, to gratifie the humour of so Inconsiderable a part of the People. *Changes are Slow, and Dangerous; God and Truth, are Invariable; We were Well, till We shifted, and never since; having tried all other Postures in vain; were it not better to attempt That once again, than thus expose our selves to be Restlesse for ever?*

My Lord, the Author of this is very much

Feb. 4. 1659.

Your EXCELLENCIE's Servant.

THe City of London, having of late behav'd themselves a little Crosse, disturb'd the self-created Representative exceedingly. The *Common-Counsel* was too *Stout*, and *Honest*, for their purpose. The *Aldermen*; but an Untoward Mixture: yet those among them that were Right, were *Eminently* so, and there were not a few that were so. A very *Worthy*, and *Particular* Instrument in the Frank carriage of the *Businesse*, was the *Recorder*. But Equall to them All was the brave *General*.

The *Rump* was now come to a *Fore'd Put*. *Monies* must be *Rais'd*, and the *City* *Subd'd*, or the *Good Old Cause* is Lost. In Order to Both; Out comes the *Long look'd for 100000 Tax*, upon *Tuesday*; (Feb. 7.) which was Follow'd with a *Negative Resolve* of *Common Counsel*, upon *Wednesday*: but *Thursday* was the *Bloody Day* Design'd, both to his *Excellence*, and to the *Town*. (witness the *Resolves* it produced, as to the *City*, and the *Orders* imposed upon the *General*.)

His *Excellence* having drawn his *Forces* into the *City*, so far Comply'd with his respect even to the least *Image* of *Authority*, as to *Secure* diverse *Persons*, by virtue of an *Order*, to that express purpose. But to *Destroy* Their *Gates*, and *Porticullises*, he was very Loth; and signifi'd as much to the *Members*, in a Letter from *Guild Hall*, to which, he received in Answer, only a more peremptory *Command* to *Proceed*; which accordingly he Executed,

cuted, the day following, and so returned to his Quarters. 46

The *Resolves* (of Feb. 9.) I must not Omit, for they deserve to be Transmitted to Posterity.

Thursday 9. Feb.

THe House received a Report from the Council of State, of some Resolutions taken by the Council, in relation to the City of London.

Resolved, That the Parliament doth approve of what the Council of State hath done, in ordering, That the Commissioners for Government of the Army, do appoint Forces to be and continue in the City of London, for preserving the Peace thereof, and of the Commonwealth, and for Reducing of the City to the obedience of the Parliament.

Resolved, That the Parliament doth approve of what the Council of State have done, in ordering that the Commissioners for the Army, do take order that the Posts and Chains in the City of London, be taken away.

Resolved, That the Gates of the City of London, and the Portcullises there, be forthwith destroyed.

Resolved, That the Parliament doth approve of what the Council of State, and Commissioners of the Army have done, in Seizing and Apprehending of Mr. Vincent, Merchant in Bishopsgate-Street, And Thomas Brown, Grocer in Wood Street, Daniel Spencer, in Friday Street, Laurence Brompsfield, in Tower-Street, Major Chamberlain, Mr. Bludworth, and Richard Ford, in Seething-Lane, Major Cox, at the Swan in Dowgate, Mr. Penning, in Fenchurch Street, and Lieutenant Colonel Jackson.

Resolved, That the present Common-Council of the City of London, Elected for this Year, be discontinued, and be and are hereby declared to be Null and Void, and that the Lord Mayor of London have notice hereof.

Ordered, That it be referred to a Committee to bring in a Bill
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for the Choice of another Common-Counsel, with such Qualifications as the Parliament shall think fit, with order to meet at 8. of the Clock in the Speakers Chamber to morrow morning.

The House likewise read the Bill for settling the Militia of the City of London, and the Liberties thereof, the first time, and referred it to the Council of State, to present names of Commissioners for the Militia of the City of London to the House to morrow morning.

The Parliament taking Notice of the discreet carriage of the Lord Mayor of the City of London, in the Late transactions of the Common-Council,

Ordered, That the Lord Mayor have the thanks of this House, and that Alderman *Watts* do give him the thanks of the Parliament accordingly.

THIS day produced likewise a remarkable *Petition*, Presented by *Praise-God Barebones*, *Pressing*, that no man might be Admitted into any place of Trust, except such as should *ABJURE AS IN SINGLE PERSONS*, and further *Praying*, that it might be Enacted HIGH TREASON, for any man to MOVE, OFFER, or PROPOUND, in PARLIAMENT, COUNSEL, COURT, or PUBLIQUE MEETING, any thing in order to CHARLES STEWART, &c. — and that after such *ABJURE* ENACTED, it might be deemed HIGH TREASON, for any man to move, or Propose the REVOCATION of it.

A man would have thought, these people should have had enough already of the Oath of ABJURATION; for nothing did more expose them, than the eagerness they had formerly used in the promoting of it: which served, only to Enrage the Opposers; and to set up for a *Marque*, the Infamous Abettors of it. But all this was not sufficient to divert the *Gracious Members* from a most Particular Order of Thanks to the Petitioners.

Upon *Saturday* (the memorable 11th. of Feb.) the General, finding himself a little more at Liberty, Removed his Quarters into the City; and there Declared himself, to the Universal Satisfaction

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faction of the Nation. (Desiring Particularly, by Letters, the men of Westminster to bethink themselves of their Disposition)

In the transaction of this Affair, there were so many untoward Circumstances, that to Prevent Mistakes, I dispersed Several Copies of this ensuing Narrative.

IN Octob. last, when Lambert scattered the Committee of Westminster his unluckie Excellency thought it then a fit time to set up for himself; and in the Head of a Phantique Party, to bid Defiance to all the Sober Interests, and Judgements of the Nation. His Principal assistant in the work was Sir Henry Vane, the Prophet of that Inspired Rabble. The Faction was grown Bold, and Formidable; when, to divert the Course, or meet the Fury of it, the General was Invited to draw a Force from Scotland into the North: and In he came, but to a Nobler purpose, than ever they Intended. They Called him in to save *Themselves*, he Came to save the Nation. Upon the first notice of his Advance, Lambert was sent with a considerable Army to meet him, and London left almost without a Publique Guard, (such was the Confidence they had in the Anabaptistique Party, which was privately Armed, and Listed in and about the town.) In fine, after diverse Affronts upon, and Tumults in the City, the Souldiery Revolted; the Fugitive Members Returned; Lambert's Army Mouldered away; and his Excellency vanished. Thus far without a Blow; but the more difficult part was still behind, (for Treacherous friends, are much more dangerous than professed Enemies) The General, resolves next, for London: and makes it his design, both in his Passage, and after his Arrive, by all means possib'e, to avoid blood-shed; His March speaks him a Souldier, and a Gentleman, for it was Regular, and Inoffensive. The Country courted him upon the way as their Deliverer, and he deserved it; For he hath proved himself no lesse. The strict reserve he used, was but what best became his Dignity and Prudence; he was too Generous, to betray Another, and too Wise to be betrayed, Himself. Under this Guard of Honour, and of Caution,
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he past his Journey, not to trouble you with long stories, how the streets were thronged with Cries and Addresses of the Nation, for a Free-Parliament; what Conference he had with the good Aldermen, what Complements were made him, by the other men of Westminster, &c. — To come to the Point, upon Friday afternoon, (the third of this Instant-February) General Monck took up his Lodgings in Whitehall. On the Monday following, his Excellency was conducted by Scot and Robinson, (with the formality of a Mace carried before them,) in o a place commonly called the Parliament-House, where he deliver'd himself according to good Discretion, and soon after return'd to his Lodgings: Laden with the Thanks of the House. Tuesday and Wednesday were the General's daies of rest: but not so to the City: for, upon Tuesday the 10th cool Tax came out, which Nerdled the Citizens shrewdly, and the day following, they met in Common-Counsell, to advise upon it. Where they resolved, to adhere to a former Vote of the Court in the Negative. At the same sitting was communicated a Declaration from Warwick shire, for a Free-Parliament; it was of a fair signification, and Authority; the Gentlemen that brought it, received the Thanks of the Court; (not to mention the peevishnesse of 2 or 3 Dissenters) 'tis hoped they may be wiser, and honeste hereafter; This was a Day of Businesse in London, and produced a Busier Night at Westminster: for the Counsell of State, after a tedious Puzzle and Debate, Issued out Orders to Generall Monck, for the Reducing of the City, directing him to proceed, in such a Method, as they had prescribed him. In persuance thereof, his Excellency marched early upon Thursday the Ninth current Horse and Foot, into the City; by that means frustrating a Respect which the Court had designed him the Day before; Having appointed four Aldermen, and eight Commoners, to attend him the next Morning. His entrance into the Town, brought all the Horror and Satisfaction with it, Imaginable: nor did the People understand for a long while, whether they should Curse or Adore him: at last in compliance with

with his Orders, he seized divers eminent Citizens, and sent them to the *Tower*, and took up his Quarters that Night in the City; By this time, the People, beyond all doubt, pronounced him the most execrable Creature that ever came within their Walls, not understanding that the *Atischief* he *did* them, was but *Fest*, and the *Good* he *Intended* them, was *Earnest*. That in consideration of a weeks Imprisonment, he would reward them, and their Posterity, with Perpetuall Liberty. This however carried an appearance of severity, which was in effect, but a point of Military Honor; For his *Inclination*, and *Duty* in this Action, Led him several waies: as a Souldier he obeyed a Barbarous Order; as an Englishman he made it his care, to take off the edge on't; and he was bound to doe That, this day by Commission, Which he resolved to undoe two dayes after upon a Nobler Principle; upon Friday, (the 10th. of the Month, and the last of his Commission,) the General demanded the Cities last Resolve, from the Aldermen; who still adhered to their former Judgement. His Excellency, hereupon gave command to demolish the City Gates, and so Returned to Whitehall. (Observe, that his Displeasure, and Commission died together,) For the next Morning, (Saturday,) he made the Town a large Amends: Declaring Solemnly to joyn with them, and their Associates for a Free Parliament; (but having fairly first discharged himself to those at Westminster, by a Letter in commune with his Officers; who have behaved themselves as men of Honor in the Businesse. The Truth is, had not the Generall been nimble with them, they had undermined him; for, contrary to Faith and Honesty, to their expresse Agreement, they had not onely entered into a secret combination with the Sectaries, but publickly encouraged their Assemblings and Petitions; and more particularly, contrived the direct Ruine of that Person, who had so lately preserved them. This is a Theame transports me; The Bloody Votes were passed that Dismall Night: Let Nedham tell you; but never was a Joy so Universall; wise men grew mad upon't, and mad men sober. The Cryes, the Bonfires, and the fume of

Rotted Rumps, did quite take down the *Legislative Stomack*; 'Tis thought the Thing at *Westminster* is vanished. In fine, the *Hand of God* is in't, his Name be praised.

Feb. 12. 1659.

THIS was not yet enough, to put the *Rump* out of Countenance. The blessed Members met again as Formally as ever, & Acted with a Confidence that might exuse the *Common peoples Jealousie* over the *General*. He was too Wise, to walk too *Open*; and They not Wise enough to comprehend the *Policie* of his *Reserve*. And yet they wanted not a *Will* to Understand him. They study'd nothing else but his *Intentions*. That which most puzzled them, was a Conference at *Alderman Wals*'s, betwixt Several of the *Secluded Members*, and of the *Rump*: Joyning to That, His Excellencies Answer to a *Proposal of Raising Forces* to secure themselves; which was, That He himself would Interpose betwixt the *City*, and all *Danger*.

Observing how prejudicial these *Mistakes* were to the *Publique Interest of Settlement*; and with what *Art*, and *Industry*, they were Assisted, by the *Adverse Party*: I took it for a Seasonable, and Good Office to do something that might Create a better Understanding: Or, at the worst, Excite the *Citizens*, to Act by *Tichborn's President*, and of *Themselves*, in Case of any further Baffle or Delay, in settling their *Militia*. For these Reasons, I Publish'd this Ensuing Paper.

A Word in Season, to General MONK, (with his Officers, &c.)
To the CITY, and To the NATION.

My Lord, and Gentlemen,

YOU are, at present, in the *Heart* of the *Nation*, and in the *Arms* of your *Friends*: where you are Safe, and Beloved. You have the *Strength* and *Affections* of the *City*, at your Devotion

Devotion, and it is your Commune Interest, to unite in a Concurrence both of *Power* and *Kindnesse*. *You stand and fall together*. You are all of the same *Stock*; *Born to the same Freedom*; *Subjessed to the same Laws*; *Nurs'd up in the same Religion*: And in fine, *Obliged by the same Rules of Duty and Wisdom*, to promote the same *Ends*. I might adde, that you are likewise *exposed to the same Danger*, and from the same *Enemy*: by whose *Hypocrisie*, and *Skill*, should you be *Deluded into a Belief*, of such who never kept *Faith*, (forgive me) your *Reputation* is lost, with your *Security*; and you *Fall*, without either *Redress* or *Pity*. In this very Instant, *while you Treat, the Mine is working*. The *Instruments* and *Means* of your Destruction are already agreed upon. Some are employed to *Infect your Councils*, and *Alienate your Soldiers*: Others sit among you, to *Betray you*. What by *Open Force* cannot be *Effectuated*, must be *assisted*, by a *Dagger* or *Poyson*. (You have the *Substance of this*, already, upon *Evidence*, and *Experiment*.) Next to this *Caution* towards your *Professed Adversaries*, allow me to propose a more *Ingenuous*, and *Open Clearnesse* towards your *Usefull Friends*. (if it were but to prevent *Mis-understandings*: Beside, that the very *Doubt* is both *Injurious*, and *Painfull*) *Offices of Respect*, and *Comfort*, ought to be performed with *Liberty*, and *Chearfulness*, without any the least mixture of *Scruple*, or *Reserve*. These *Frank*, and *Mutual Enterchanges of Succour*, and *Advice*, begets a *Trust*, and *Kindnesse*; And *That's the true Foundation of a happy, and Lasting Union*. — *That Friendship which admits a Felonsie, wavers*.

When *You*, (My Lord) your *Officers*, and *Army*, are become *One* with this *City*, you have then but *Contracted* a nearer *Alliance* with the *Nation*: whose several *Counties*, and *Divisions*, (how remote soever) are (with this *Town*) but *Parts* still of the same *Body*. By a *Consent of Interest*, and *Sense*, they *Prosper*, or they *Wither*, they *Grieve*, or *Joy*, they *Live*, or *Dye*. Nor are they more united in their *Interests*, than in their *Votes*, and *Resolutions*; for they have unanimously engaged with the *City*, to maintain their *Rights*, and *Liberties*, the *Reformed Religion*, and the *Freedom of*

Parliaments, against all Hazards, and Oppositions whatsoever. I need not tell your Lordship by what Audacious and Illegal Violences, this Declaration and Remonstrance was extorted from them. The Nation stood condemn'd to Servitude, and Beggery, even by those, whom they themselves had Raised from that Condition, to aggravate the Bondage, by the more Intollerable Authors of it. 'Tis now become a Crime, to name a Full, Free Parliament, and Treason to appeal to any other Law, than the Insipid Vote of a Legislative Conventicle. The Gaols are full of Prisoners upon that very score.

Was it not time, (My Lord) to bid these People hold their Hands, after the expense of so much Blood, and of so many Millions; and all this only to perpetuate a dearer, and a more Insupportable Thralldom? The Pulpits were enured to Blasphemie, and Non-sense, and the Government prostituted for money, to Persons able to disgrace a Bowdy-House. — These, and the like Indignities, put the Nation upon their Just, and necessary Defence; And in that Posture they now stand Ready, and Resolved.

Your Excellency hath been tender hitherto of Blood, but if a speedy Order be not taken, to Regulate those stragling Troops, that As still in the Countries, in Opposition to a Settlement, It will come yet to Blows: For questionlesse, in case of a Necessity, the People will not stand still, and suffer themselves to be picked out, man by man, till they be all Destroyed.

The Gentry and Nobility, are Slaves to every pedling Pursuivant. 'Tis but a Warrant from our Masters, and all is Fish that comes to Net: No matter for a Crime, if there be Booty. All that the People ask, all they design, is but the Benefit of the Law. Will any Englishman deny it us? First, They have sworn to defend it; Next We have sworn, rather to dye, than lose it. This Faction hath cost the Nation more than 62. Millions, besides the Blood they have Lapp'd: and yet 100000. l. a Month, and not a farthing lesse, will do their Business, that is, 5000. l. a Man, or some such Trifle: For that, the Funto shares; perhaps the Souldier, once in a year,

year, or 2. may get his Mornings draught, and then be turn'd to Graze upon Free Quarter; and hang'd for Mutiny, if he but talks of Money. Its the trick they served all that have served them. Who ever strikes, or payes on their behalf, fights but for Bondage, and contributes to his own Chaines. If they had any Faith, they might be Trusted. But Oaths go down with them like Pills of Butter, they are dissolved, as soon as taken. That Perjury which would poison a good Christian, is but their Nutriment. Nay worse than Wolves, they are False to their own Kind, and enter-worry one another. I should be endlesse, to pursue this Subject till I want Matter. In brief, My Lord, look to your self, and to your Friends; Life and Death are before you, Chuse. May Heaven direct and bless your Counsels and Endeavours, so far, as you proceed with Pietie and Honour. To prevent Mistakes, I do declare, that there are divers moderate and sober Persons, in the Mixture, for whom I have a fair Respect, and that the tartnesse of my Language, only concerns the Furious and Phanatique of them.

A word now to the CITY; and that a short one.] Gentlemen, upon your fair compliance with the General, depends much of your safety: that is, so far as he comports himself with terms of Prudence, Equity, and Honour; (and he is too Noble, to go Lesse) next, to himself, you find his Officers, of an Ingenuous, and clear Conversation; and worth your Friendships, their Commands a-part; you likewise find the body of the Army Civil, and well disciplin'd, you do exceeding well to pay them all due respects: and to joyn Interests, and Councils, with them; — you have done Wisely, Honestly, and Bravely too, to oppose Taxes: that is, Taxes imposed without a Law, — to be employed against your selves; — and such, as had you granted them, your President would have extended to enslave your Posteritie. — Your care next, to disarm the Sectaries, was very reasonable, Your City had probably been in Ashes else by this time. Consider, they bear the same mind

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still, and where they had those weapons they can quickly have more. You cannot be secure without your *Militia*, nor can any thing fairly obstruct your Procurement of it: In *Treshburn's Case*, it was by the Commons ordered, that any six of the Common-Counsell (upon emergent occasions) might send for the Lord Mayor to call a Common-Counsell, and in case of default, call it themselves, and any 40. of them, to have power to act as a Common-Councell, without the Lord Mayor, any thing in their Charter to the contrary Notwithstanding: See the Hist. of Independency, part 2. p 83. Not to exceed my limits, Forges not your suffering Friends, and stand firm to your Associates, and Allies. He that samely suffers One Injury, Provokes Another.

Now to the NATION, for a Farewell.] I need not presse my Country-men with many Cautions, your Freedom of Elections, that's your Birth-right, 'Tis that you all declare, to Live & Dye for, you are too wise, to be cheated with Restrictions and Qualifications: as if the Question were the Number, rather than the Choice, at this rate, you may have a full House, indeed; but How? That is, full of the Brass, the Kindred, and the Partizans of those that sit already; and then, they that have gull'd you all this while, shall govern you for ever, your very Declarations against the Present Tyranny, have brought you to that Point, that there's no safety left you, but in violence; for while you talk, you dye, your scattered Friends are gathered up, one by one; whereas, your SEASONABLE UNION MAKES ALL SURE.

As your Intentions are Honorable, so let your Actions be. How far the Law extends, in case of British, and Illegal cruelty, see St. Johns Argument against the Earl of Strafford; and with That I conclude: He that would not have had others to have Law, why should he have any himself? Why should not that be done to him, that himself would have done to others? It is true, we give Law to Hares and Deers, because they be Beasts of Chase; it was never accounted either cruelty, or fowl play, to Knock Foxes and Wolves on the head,

as they can be found, because they be Beasts of Prey : The Warrener sets traps for Powlcats and other Hermin, for Preservation of the Warren.

Feb. 18. 1659.

ABout This time, the Schismaticques had all their Instruments at work to disappoint the Generall Design, and Hope of a *Free Parliament*. The *Bolder*, and the more *Ingenious* sort of Honest men were Gather'd up, by Flying Troops, that they had every where Di'pers'd to hinder a Conjunction : nay, they were come to That Degree of Impudence, to threaten *Banishment*, and *Sequestration* to the whole Party of *Declarers*. Nor did they Act these Outrages upon the *Gentry*, without a due regard of *Popular*, and specious *Application* to the *Vulgar*. The House should be *Immediately Fill'd* : — The *Form of the VVrit* was already *Published* : — — — The *Qualifications*, *Agreed upon* ; — — — and in *Fine* ; — — — They would *Instantly proceed to a Settlement of Church and State* : — — (what would they *more* ?) In the mean while ; The *Presses* are at *Work* ; by *Libells against the King* ; — — — By *Arguments of Interest* ; and by *False Intelligence*, to *Corrupt*, and *Deceive* the *People*. No *Stone* is left *unturn'd*. The *Common-wealthsmen*. They're a *Birding* too ; and *Tell* their *Little Tales of Rome*, and *Venice*. Nor does the *Generall* himself escape their wild Attempts ; either upon his *Honesty*, by *Large and Insignificant Donations* ; or else by *Plots* against his *Person*. The *Party* had their *Friends* too in the *City* ; either, by *Tedious Speeches*, *From the Point*, to make their *Meetings Fruitlesse* : or upon *Friivolous Pretenses* to *Delay* the very *Calling* of a *Counsell*, *Retarding* the *Militia* by that means, to the great *Hazzard* of the whole *Affair*.

This

This was the Face of Things, when the Brave Generall Cleer'd the way for the Return of the *Secluded Members*, who being *Entered* (Feb. 21.) fell *Instantly* upon the Nulling of those Spurious Orders, which Related to their First Seclusion in Dec. 1648. Proceeding Thence, to the Enlarging, and Confirming of the *Generall's Commission* : and the disabling of the *Rump's Commissioners for the Government of the Army*. — — — — The *Discharging of Prisoners*, Illegally Committed : — — — — and the Appointment of a *new Convention*, (Apr. 25. — 1660.) — In Fine ; they had enough to doe for one while, to *Vacate* the *mis doings* of their *Predecessors* : which thing it self they did, with all convenient Modesty, and Tenderneſſe. As their Buſineſſe was onely to *Settle* the *Nation*, without *Perpetuating Themselves* ; ſo did they make all *Haste* was *Poſſible*, to Finish it. The *Militia's*, they Placed in Good Hands : and Empowred a *Counſell of State* to Govern in the next *Interwall*, which being done, and Provision made for a *New Election* ; (March 16.) they Dissolved Themselves.

The *Independent Gang* were ſtrugling now for Life ; and Labour'd by a Thousand Shifts, and Cheats to make a Party in the new *Militia*. During That Tranſaction ; I cauſed this Following Paper to be Published.



A

Seasonable Word.

I Do not write out of an itch of *Scribbling*, or to support a *Faction*; my *Duty* bids me write.—Nor do I love *Hard* words, or *Many*, *Plain*, and *Few*, suit all *Capacities* and *Leisures*. I would be *Read* by all, and *Understood* by all: for my *Business* extends to all. — Not to spend time in *Complement*, or *Apology*; The *Readers* *Wisdom*, or the *Authors* *Weakness*, is not the *Question*. The *Nation* is in *Distress*, and every *Englishman* must lend his hand to save it. Nay, *That* must be done *Quickly* too, and *Vigorously*; *Delay* is *Mortal*. Can any thing be more *Ridiculous*, then to stand *Formalizing*, in a *Case*, where 'tis impossible to be too *early*, or too *zealous*? The *event* of things takes up our thoughts, more then the *Reason* of them; what *Newes*, more than what *Remedy*; As if it concerned us rather to know, *whose* *Fools* and *Slaves* we shall be next, then to be such no longer. That which completes the *wonder*, and the *Overfight*, is, That the *Miseries* we suffer, were before hand, as easily, to be *Fore-seen* and *Prevented*, as they are now to be *Felt*: and we are only to look *Backward*, to take a perfect measure of the *Future*; so obvious, and formal is the *Method*, that leads to our destruction. If we are not in love with *Beggery*, and *Bondage*; let us at last bethink our selves of *Freedom*, and from a due inquiry into the *Rise*, and *Growth*, and present *State* of our *Calamities*, learn to be *wise*, and *Happy*, for the time to come.

It may be observed, that since Church-men dabled in Politiques, and States-men in Divinity, Law and Religion have been still subjected to the Sword: and in effect, those same Excursions, and Adulterate mixtures, are but the workings of a Party already in motion toward that End. He that designs a Change of Government, must begin by imposing a Delusion upon the People: and whatsoever is Necessary to his Purpose, must be Accomodate to their Humour. ----- The Pulpit, by false glosses, and Pazzling distinctions, under the Doctrine of Conditionate Obedience, suggesting Liberty, consens the Multitude into a Rebellion. Oaths and Covenants, are but like Jugglers knots, Fast or Loose, as the Priest pleases. — The weaker sort being thus prepared, and poyson'd, by a Seditious Clergy; 'tis then the Statesman's part to push those Mutinous Inclinations into Action: and to divide the Cause betwixt Conscience, and Property, the better to involve all Interests in the Quarrel. — Under the Masque of Piety, and Publiqueness of Spirit; of Holy men, and Patriots; the Crafty cheat the Simple; engaging by those specious pretences, the Rash, mis-judging People, (with good Intentions; but wanting Care and Skill) in Sacrilege, and Treason.

This was the very Root, and this hath been the Proecess of our Evills. Under the notion of Gods glory, the Safety, and the Honour of the King: — the Fundamentall Lawes, and Freedomes of the People: — the Priviledge of Parliaments, &c. the Kingdome was gulled into a Compliance with an Ambitious, and Schismaticall Faction. The main Pretense, was the Assertion of the Subjects Legall Rights, against the grand Prerogative; and That, — directed only to the Limitation of an Intended, Arbitrary Power: — the Regulation of such and such Mis-Governments, &c. — and all this — Saving their Allegiance to his Sacred Majesty; whose Person, Crown, and Dignity, they had so often, and so deeply sworn to maintain — This was a Bait so Popular, it could not fail of drawing in a Party; and That produced a War, — The Formal Story of the Quarrel, is little to my purpose: the Logique of it, Less, — How, by the same Authority of Text, and Law, both King and People, could be Justified,

Justified, one against the other; I meddle not. Let it suffice; that after 6 Years Conflict, — a vast profusion of Blood and Treasure, — The King, a Prisoner, — and his whole party scattered, and disarmed: the Commons found themselves dispos'd to end our Troubles; and pass'd a Vote to Treat with His Majesty in Order to a Settlement. This met with little opposition, except from those, who having Gorged themselves already, upon the publique ruine, were not yet satisfied without their Sovereigns Blood — The death of Monarchy it self; — and the subverting of a Free, and Slavish People to a Conventicle of Regicides. There were not many of so deep a Tincture; but what these few could not effect by Number, they did by Force. For, upon the 6th. of Decemb. 1648. Sir Hardresse Waller, Pride, and Hewson, — Seized and Emprisoned 41. of the Commons House; — Clapp'd Guards upon all passes leading to it; — Some 160 more, were given in upon a List to those that kept the Door, with an express direction from severall Leading Members to oppose their Entrance; — a matter of 40 more withdrew, for fear of violence. Their Crime was only the carrying of a Vote for Peace (already mentioned) the day before. This action was so Enormous, that the very Contrivers of it were ashamed to own it: transferring That upon the Army-Officers which was done by their own appointment. They passed however a Formall disallowance of the violence, and ordered their discharge; which yet the Officers refused (upon a Combination now most evident) — Observe this,

That which in 48. they told us was an act of the Army-Officers, in 59. they call a Judgment of Parliament; and they justify and continue That very Seclusion, by a Vote of Jan. 5. 59. — which they themselves Condemned and Discharged by severall Orders in Dec. 48. The Particulars of these Transactions, are excellently delivered by Mr. Prynn, (the Honour of the age) in his true and perfect Narrative, as also, in the Declaration of the true state of the Secluded members, and in the History of Independency.

Return we now to the great Test of the Spirits, and Designs of the several Parties, and Members of the House, and from that

Judgment, and Discrimination of Persons, and Humours, we may learn seasonably to provide against After-claps. This Blow brake the House of Commons into Three Pieces:— One Party, adhered to the Vote,---opposed the Violence;---Declared against it,---Claimed from time to time, their own and the Peoples Rights,---Pleaded the Covenant, and their Declarations, and stood it out. The Second sort, was not so well prepar'd for Martyrdom; a kind of Barnacle, neither Fish nor, Flesh. This was a Party, that Flew off at first, but soon retracted; ---Herded again, and went along for Company; my Charity persuades me well, of diverse of them, and that they mixed, rather in hopes to moderate the Rest, then in Design to strengthen them: A Party rather weak, and Passive, than Malicious. But nothing can excuse those sons of Belial, the perjur'd Remnant; no, nor express them --- Beside their Oaths and Covenant, they have above a hundred times, in Printed Declarations, renounced the very Thought of what they since have executed. Read the Exact Collections, We are (say they) so far from altering the Fundamental Constitution, and Government of this Kingdom by King, Lords and Commons. That we have only desired, that with the consent of the King, such Powers may be setled in the Two Houses, without which, we can have no Assurance, &c. These are the very words of their Declaration, April 17. 1646 published by the House of Commons, alone, toward the end of the war, and most remarkably entituled,---A Declaration of their true Intentions, concerning the Antient Government of the Nation and securing the People against all Arbitrary Government.--- Let this Quotation serve for All, lest I exceed my Limits. Nor to insist upon things known, and publique.---How faithfully these People have managed their Original Trust, - how strictly they have kept their Oaths and Promises,---how tenderly they have observed the Laws, and asserted our Freedoms; --- how poor they have made themselves, to make us Rich; --- how Graciously they have assumed the Legislative power; and then, how modestly they have exercised it: --- In fine; --- How Free, and happily we lived under their Government; till Oliver play'd Rex among them and shew

threw them out by a Trick of their own Teaching. This was in April 1653. It were worth the while, to enquire into the good they did us, during that 6 years Session, but that I leave to Needham. Nor shall I far examine the *Protectors* Reign; by whose advice; -- by what assistance; --- or by what *Laws* he ruled? --- how many of our late *Republicans* forgate themselves, and swore *Allegiance*, to a single Person. How many things like *Parliaments*, he dispersed.) --- It is enough; at last, he died. Died, --- in despight of *Priests*, and *Poets*; *Goodwin*, &c. The former telling him from Heaven, that he should scape that *Fit*, the Other telling us, --- (so needlessly.) ---

His Highness, having other things to think on, left his successor doubtful, till (as they say) His Secretary, (Then, one of *Duch*, now) with *Goodwin*, (His *Prophe:ique Confessor*) Swore his son *Richard* into the *Protectorship*. But he (Good Gentleman) did not much hurt, but peaceably resigned to *Fleetwood*, and *Disborough*; and They, quite at a Loss for want of *Brains* and *Courage*, called in the *Faz-end* of the old House, to their assistance: So that those Members, which *Dived*, in April 53. came up again, upon the 7th. of May, 59. and acted as imperiously as ever: Till they were once again unseated, by the Army; the 13. of Octob. last, and then, the Committee of *Wallingford-house* was invested with the *Supreme Authority*: ('Tis but a slippery Title that of the *Sword*) This change, gave *General Monk* occasion to shew his *Charity* to his *Native Countrey*; by whose *Generosity*, and *Conduet*, the *Honest* and *Suffering Party* was relieved, and the *Phanatique Army* dispersed, without *Blood*. Hereupon, the *Souldjery* tack'd about once again; --- Lamented their backslidings; and on the 26th. of Decemb. following the *Good-Old-Cause-men*, re-enthron'd themselves: more eager now, than formerly, against the *Re-admission* of the *secluded Members*. This barbarous, and *Arbitrary* proceeding, put the whole Nation upon a necessity of procuring a *Free and Full Representative*: to which end, they proposed *Modestly*, and *Fairly*, the *Restoring* of the *Excluded Members*, and *Filling up the House*; or else, the *Liberty* of a *New*, and *Legal choyce*. For bringing Letters to this purpose, *Sir Robert Pye*, and *Major Fincher*

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 ther were imprisoned. This was an Insolence too grosse, to doe much Mischief, but to Themselves. Are these the men, (the People cryed) that put the King to death, only upon Pretence of a Design, to Erect an Uproote in himself, an unlimited and Tyrannical Power, to Rule according to his Will, and to overthrow the Rights; and Liberties of the People, yea, to Take away and make void the Foundations thereof, and of all Remedies and Remedy of this Government, which by the Fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom, were reserved on the Peoples behalf, in the Right and Power of FREQUENT AND SUCCESSIVE PARLIAMENTS? (these are the words of the charge) — That which was Treason in our Lawfull Prince, how comes it to be Law, now with these Fellows? They took away the Kings Life, for but Intending, the very thing they Ask; and we are to be Hang'd, for Asking only That, they swore they Fought for. No; — they are a Pack of cheats; They Murthered Him, that they might Rule, Themselves. The Plot was grown so Rank, the Common People smelt it; and without more ado, associated to free themselves, from an infamous and perpetual bondage. Witness that Union, (in their Declarations) both of Demand and Resolution; against the Equity whereof, no man hath hitherto pretended the least Objection. —

The Supreme Trifle; perceiving, an Univerſall Application to the Generall, in his passage; and all, speaking the same Sence; Finding withall, that his Excellence suspended, till he might hear Both Parties; and Conscious to Themselves, of no imaginable Reason to Oppose: Beside: — Seeing themselves Declined, and Hated; — Nay, and Endangered by a Peremptory Agreement of the Nation; — They did, at last, most graciously descend to promise us a full Representative; but no Secluded Members, to be admitted, nor, in effect, any other then Phanatiques.

His Excellency, well weighing, what was Reasoned pro & con: made way for the Return of the Secluded Members. This Justice, brake the neck of a Design, just then on Foot. This is the short on't; — The People were to be held at Gaze, in expectation of a further satisfaction.

faction; till those Troops which the Backside had ordered to that purpose, should have seized all the considerable Persons of the Kingdom. Nay, they were impudent enough, to tempt the General himself into a Complication with them: But he was too discreet, not to distinguish where to observe, and where to Leave them. In fine, That providence, which stills the raging of the Sea, and the madness of the People, hath put a check to their Impetuous and, brutish fury.

Next to our Gratitude to Heaven, let's have a care, not to be wanting in point of prudence to our Selves. Nothing undoes us but Security. We see, who are our Friends, and who our Enemies; whom we may trust, and whom we must not. We have paid dear for our Experience, and, sure, we have a Title to the Benefit of it. Let us look Back, and learn, from Thence, the menage of the Future.

It is a tedious while, this Nation ha's been toss'd betwixt Two Factions; One in the Army, the Other in the Counsel; Both, well enough Agreed to destroy us, but Jealous still, One of the Other, as Don says of Ignatius, concerning his Competitor in Hell, He was content he should be Damned, but loth he should Govern. That's all the Quarrel: the Vizard of Religion, is thrown aside long since. The Conventicle cheats the Soldier this day; and he falls upon the Rump, the next Morn; they do but watch one the other, at the publick charge; They may snarle where they please, but they bite none but us, and at the worst, forgive their fellow-Theeves for robbing Honest Men. This hath been their practise near these dozen years. Are we not yet convinc'd, that 'tis impossible it should be otherwise, while the same people Govern us, with the same aim, and bound up by no other Laws, than their Own Wills? I do not press any resistance, Now; but, certainly, a readiness to protect Honest men, in Case of an Attempt, were not amiss. We see, how dirtily they have used the General, and how unworthily their Instruments have laboured the Army into a bitter Tumult; and all this in order to a New Violence upon the House. We see, what Juggling is used in the MILITIA: as sojsting in false Lists, to cast the strength of the Nation into the hands of mean, and Factions persons. What industry, to hold

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us still unsettled, by throwing in impertinent, and dangerous Scruples, to delay (at the Fairest) if not disturb the long desired Peace we pray for.—He that ha's either Honor in his Blood, or Honesty in his Heart, is Reproached with a King in his Belly. — Then, for the Qualifications, these goodly Squires would have thrust upon us, are they not pleasant? One man of Forty shall be allowed to Vote, or Sit, and the other 39. must call That a Free-Parliament, and swear, it Represents the People.—We are not so Blind yet, nor so Forgetfull, as not to see, and know, some Foxes and some Asses, in the Medley; All are not Saints we call so. — We do remember, who they were that ruled in 48. and we are sensible, what they would do still, if they had Power.—We know, who brought in, who; but the Markets raised; our Heads will not off now at Fifty shillings a Hundred, as formerly. In fine, let the General, the Secluded Members, and the Honest Souldiers, live Long, Happily, and Beloved; and let the Rest take their Fortune. I could only wish his Excellency had been a little civilier to Mr. Milton; for, just as he had finished his Modell of a Common-wealth, directing in these very Terms, the Choyce; — men not addicted to a Single Person, or House of Lords, and the Work is done. In come the Secluded Members, and spoyle his Project. To this admirable discovery, he subjects a suitable Proposition in favour of the late sitting Members, and This is it, having premised the Abilities and Honesty, desirable in Ministers of State, he recommends the Rumpers to us as so Qualified; advises us to quit that fond Opinion of successive Parliament; and suffer the Persons then in Power, to perpetuate themselves under the name of a Grand or Generall Councell, and to rule us, and our Heirs for ever. — It were great pitty these Gentlemen should lose their longings: One word, and I have done. We live in dayly expectation of Writs for another Session, if they Leave us as free, as they Found us, 'tis Well: if Not; 'tis but to Turne the Tables, and try Their message of a Losing Game.

The Great Designe was now, to Disappoint the Hopes we had of Good from the *Next Convention*, by *Continuing* *Themselves*; or at the least, to *Fool* the People into an *Expectation* of the same *Benefit* from the *Rump*; which we promised our Selves from a *Free Parliament*, and that way to Procure an Interest in the Next Session. In order to this pitifull purpose, comes forth a wretched Pamphlet, Entit'led

No New Parliament.

OR

Some Quæres or Considerations humbly offered to
The Present

PARLIAMENT MEMBERS.

The Occasion rather, than the thing it self, drew from me
This Answer.



Quære for Quære, &c.

Although *That Pamphlet*, which *Occasions This*, considered in it self, is not *worth a Reply*: Yet in regard of the *Contrivers*, and of the *End* it tends to, it may *Deserve one*. I look upon it as nothing else, but the *Phanatiques late Petition* sic'd into *Quæres*, by some unskilful hand; and with a *Harmless* kind of *Simple Malice*, directed to elude the *Justice and Necessity* of their *great Patrons Dissolution*.

I shall not much insist upon the businesse, beyond the Obligation of a *Formal Answer*: but I shall take such heed to *That*, as to leave little place for a *Return*; and in the rest, make the old saying good,

N

that

that One Earl may ask more Questions, than Twenty Wise men can Answer.

His Queer's are as follows.

1. Whether this be not the Parliament, and these the Persons, who began the War with the late King? And if so, whether it doth not highly and nearly concern them even for their own sakes, to ke the Parliament that shall take up, and Cloze the Quarrel, and not leave it to others, especially, if as the general voice goes, the Kings Son must be brought in?

A N S W E R.

THis is not the Original Parliament; That was compos'd of Three Estates; King, Lords, and Commons. Further; These very Persons now sitting, Declar'd the King, a Party with them in the Quarrel; beginning the War in the Kings Name; --- For Him, not With (that is, as it lies here Against) Him. If Thus; the House must be Divided as well now in the Question, as formerly it was so in the War. The Parliament (even in the Querists sense) were those that (suitably to their Duties and Engagements) Voted a Peace, in order to the Preservation of his Majesty, but there was a Faction too, that contrary to Honour, Equity, and Conscience, did forcibly seclude their Honest Fellowes, (by much the Major Part) and Prosecute, and put to Death the King; Those that have been Honest, are Safe: nay and so should those be too, that will at last be so, by my Consent: but I Demand,

What Equity or Reason is there, that those Persons who Murthred the Father, and are still professed Enemies to the Son, should have an Equal Benefit with Others, that were Affronted for their Loyalty to the Former, and are at present upbraided (as if 'twere Criminal) for their Affection to the Latter? If the Kings Son must be brought in, whether they will or no, what have we to do further with those people, that Declare they'll keep him Out, if they Can?

2. Whether this Parliaments first undertaking and prosecuting the War with the late King were Just, and upon good and warrantable Grounds?

If

If it were (as no doubt it was) and God having by his Providence, after a long Interruption of some of them, and a longer Seclusion of the rest, restored them to their trust, whether they ought not now to stand to their first Good principles, maintain their first Good Cause, and secure all the good people that have been engaged with them, and by them?

ANSWER.

THe war was just, in that part of the Parliament, which Declared for the King, and Acted accordingly, but unjust in that which Swore to Preserve him, and Intended to Murder him. That the Parliament ought to stand to their first Good Principles; we are Agreed. In so doing; they are to bring to condign punishment, — the Infringers of their Privileges, — the Introducers of Arbitrary power, the Obstructors of Successive Parliaments; The Murderers of the late King — the Subverters of the Establish'd Government, &c.

I grant you further, that they are obliged to secure all the good people that engaged with them and by them; but not consequently all those that acted violently Against and Without them; — now my Question.

How is it possible for those that Began upon Principles of Contradiction, (as the Saving and Destroying of the King, &c.) to stand to their First principles?

3. whether this be not that Parliament, and these the very persons, who by the good esteem they had among the people of their Integrity, Faithfulness and Constancy; whether I say, this be not the Parliament, who by these and other means engaged the Honest, and well Affected of the Land in the aforesaid war? And if so, whether this Parliament having now power in their hands, are not obliged in Duty and Good Conscience to secure all the said Honest and well affected people for this their Engaging and Acting under them, and not leave them as a prey to their professed enemies, nor their terms of peace to be made by they know not whom? Another Parliament, which there is too great cause to fear, will be too much made up of such as neither have been nor are friends to the Parliaments cause, nor to those that engaged in it.

Tis not the Gaining of a good Esteem, but 'tis the practice of Integrity, that recommends a worthy person. I may believe well of a Cheat, and ha' my pocket pick'd. But after that; I should deserve a Yellow Coat, ever to trust that fellow Again, though he should plead, he had my good opinion formerly. --- Some I confesse are yet in Being, of those whose Interest raised the War, but these are not the men our Querist means: (and beside; the most considerate of that number, are in their Graves.) For the rest; (to wave this Argument from Power to Conscience.---) Those people that dare not abide the test of a Free, Legal Parliament, must not presume to a themselves, as an Authority without Law, or Limit. In fine;--- If this be the Same Parliament, that first engaged---then--- why should the Secluders, and their Adherents; --- Those which by Force of arms Baffled this very Parliament, in 48. 'scape better then the Cavaliers that fought against it, in 42?

A. Whether this be not the Parliament, who by many Declarations and Remonstrances, by Protestation and Vow, by Solemn League and Covenant have declared and engaged themselves before God, Angels, and Men, and have thereby drawn in, and therewith engaged all Honest people to assert and defend their just undertaking, and one another therein? whether as things now stand, (when this just Cause, which through Gods assistance could not be won from us in the field, is in great danger to be stoln from us by the dark contrivances of its and our adversaries) if this Parliament should dissolve at such a time as this, and leave all, both Cause and all engaged by them in it to another Parliament, the greatest part whereof may be no friends but enemies, or at least Strangers, or but little concerned in the first undertaking; whether this would not be exceeding contrary to all those Former Declarations, Remonstrances, Protestation, Vow, and Solemn League and Covenant?

ANSWER.

I Do allow--- the Members of this present Session, are those persons that stand engaged by Oath and Covenant: and to that OATH and

and COVENANT, we appeal, --- For Granted ; they stand bound to protect all the HONEST people they have engaged ; but not the KNAVES, --- the Covenant-Breakers ; I desire only this, ---

whether or Not, are they that took the Covenant, bound to protect the Violators of it ? --- Nay, can they purge themselves of manifest Perjury and Complication, should they not prosecute the obstinate Opposers of it ?

5. Whether it be not more then sufficiently manifest what will be the carriage of these Enemies to the Parliaments Cause, and its Adherents, when they get power into their hands, since they are so forward already in their discourses to charge the Parliament with Treason and Rebellion in their first Undertaking the War, and look on all their Friends as Rebels and Traitors for assisting them in the prosecution of it, and who are now in all places contriving and promoting the electing of such into the New Parliament as are Enemies to the present Parliament, their Friends and Cause, wherein if they prevail (as 'tis too likely) their work is done? How absolutely necessary is it then for the present Parliament to continue their Session, for prevention of these Mischiefs, which otherwise will ensue.

Upon these and many other very weighty considerations, it can by no means be accounted either honourable, or just, or safe or prudent, for the present Parliament to dissolve themselves, till first they have fully asserted and vindicated their own just Undertaking, and the faithful adherents to it and them, and not to leave both themselves and their Friends to the Malice and Revenge of a vanquishd Enemy.

If this should be, we may bid adieu to the Honour and Renown of English Parliaments, and to all future hopes of assistance from the People, whatever the Necessity may be : And let English men bid farewell both to their Civill and Religious Liberties, if after so high a Conflict for them, with the expence of so much Blood and Treasure, and having by Gods blessing subdued their Opposers, yet after all to be exposed to a farr worse Condition then before, which O God forbid : We hope for better things from our present Parliament : All that we add, is only this, If the King must come, none so fit to bring him as our present Parliament.

'Tis

ANSWER.

Is not the *Parliament* is charged with *Treason*, but that *Rebellious Faction*;—that, by an *Insolence*, previous to the *Murder* of his Sacred Majesty, threw out the *Major Party* of their *Fellow-Members*, which interposed to save him---and 'tis in their behalfs, this pittisfull, half-witted *Pamphleter* engages. Should these *Gentlemen* sit, till they found a *Free Parliament* their *Friends*, they'd hardly *Rise* betwixt *This*, and the *Day of Judgment*: and thats all they desire. Alas! a *Trifle*.---The care they take of our *Religion*, and *Civill Rights*, in truth, is a great favour from them, that never understood their *Own*.---If the more sober, conscientious *Persons* at the *Helm*, think not fit to dissolve so soon; the *JONASSES*, however must be thrown over-board, to save the *Vessel*.---He that dissents, let him produce his *Reasons*: and in *Particulars*, but shew what *Good*, they've either *Done*, or *Meant* us; to *Ballance* the *Calamities* they have engaged us in. I should be *Glad* to see these *Men* *Repent*; *Hardly*, to see them *Govern*.---These *Folks* are *Ruined*, if they doe not *Rule*; the *Nation*. if they doe.---The *Question* then is but ---

whether is more *prudential*; by saving of some half a score *Secluders*, that we should *Perish*; or by their *SPEEDY DISSOLUTION*, that we should save our *selves*?

A Free Course of Success against the *Rump*, had put the *People* upon a *Fallier Pin*; Their *Humour* was quite chang'd; They thought the *Danger Over*, and it was now become a Thing *Unseasonable* to be *Serious*.

Accounting it expedient however, through all *Forms* to *Follow* them, and *Fool for Company*, I was content to play the *Mimique*; as you may see in that which follows, Entit'led

No

450

No Fool to the Old Fool.

HEark ye my Masters ; — for one half quarter of an hour now, let's be as *Wise as Woodcocks* ; and talk a little *Treason*. Why should not *We* thrive in the World as well as our *Neighbours* ? Had not other people *Heads and Souls* to lose as well as *We* ? If men will be *Damn'd*, they had better *Damn Rich* than *Poor* ; as *Bradshaw* and the *Attorney General* *Damn'd*. — Believe me, — three or four score thousand pound is a convenient Plaster for a *Broken Head* ; there's something to bear *Charges* yet. Beside, There's *Power and Plenty*. — They *Cousen* whom they please : — *Hang and Draw at will* ; — they keep their *Lacquays* and their *Whores* : and at the last they go to *Hell in Triumph*. They have their *Blacks* & *Elegies*, and leave the State to pay the *Draper* and the *Poet*. 'Twould make a man be-pisse himself, to see the soft and tender-hearted *Needham*, weeping (like *Niobe*, till he turns *Stone*) over the *Tomb* of *Bradshaw*, — to see him *Cry with one Eye*, and *laugh with the other*, and yet the *Tragi-comical Puppy* keep his *Countenance*. The *Tears* of such a *Saint* cannot but fall, like *Drops of Lambeth Ale*, upon the *Tongue* of *Dives*, — how great a *Consolation* was it (think ye) to the *late Protector* to finde himself plac'd at the *right hand* of *God* by *Sterry* ? (that *Blasphemous, bold-Phanatique*) of whose *Condition*, *Charity* it self can scarce admit a comfortable thought. For, after a long Course. of *Treason, Murthers, Sacrilege, Perjury, Rapine, &c.* he finish'd his accursed *Life*, in *Agony*, and *Fury* ; and without any mark of true *Repentance*. You'll say, he was the *Braver Villain* for't. — Crimes of this large Extent have indeed something that's *Masculine* to allay them. But to be *Damn'd for Sneaking* ; To purchase *Hell* at the price of all that is pleasant *Here* :

----to contract Sin and Beggery, in the same Act and Moment ; This is the most Imprudent and Ridiculous wickedness that may be. He that Indents with the Devil, has a merry Bargain, compar'd with Us ; There's Time, and Pleasure. Here ; the Vengeance treads upon the Heels of the Offence ; and the Punishment of our Misdoings is the next immediate Effect of them. In paying Taxes, to an Usurped Power ; There's a Defection from the Right, and a Compliance with the Wrong, which renders us doubly Criminal, --- and in this case we do but Buy our Chains, and the next Consequent of our Disobedience, is Slavery. It comes all to a Point, in what concerns Subjection to Unlawfull Powers. Under a Force, --- is a Brutish Argument. Vice is the Obliquity of the Will : That's Free. The same Plea lies in the Case of Martyrdom : and by the same Rule we may renounce our Maker.

If wicked, we're Resolv'd to be, --- Lets go a nobler way to work --- let's get a matter of Half a Dozen Crafty Knaves together ; take in some Thirty or Forty silly Rascals into the Gang, and call our selves a Parliament. Why Gentlemen ? This is no impossible thing, Our Title is as good as Theirs, that ha' done the same thing before us ; but then be sure of the Proportion. Seven parts of Eight must have neither Wit nor Honesty : yet Look as wise as Judges, and in the very middle of their Pater-Nosters, pick their Neighbours pockets. These are to be directed by the Rooks, and by them Both, the Nation, which would be over-Stocked with Cheats, were any more admitted into the Grand Conspiracy against the People. To Personall abuses, the rest are likewise Qualified : They may Imprison, when, where, and whom they please, without Cause shewed, their Will is a sufficient Warrant for the well-affected. In fine, they are the Peoples voice, and That's the voice of Heaven.

Why now should we despair of the same Events, from the same Means, considering, what a Drowsie, Patient, and Phlegmatick people we have to deal with ? Shall's Fool a Little ? Lets Vote down Magna Charta, and the Petition of Right ! Settle a Preaching Militia, and a Fighting Ministry ? --- Our with our whinyards, and off with

with the Names, instead of the Heads of the Kings Treary; at Okey did upon the Change. Take away Monk's Commission; Petition the Souldiers to Petition us, to declare our selves Perpetual; --- Bind up the Nation under Limitations for the next Session, and exclude all but our own party from the Chaise. No matter for the Law or Conscience of the business --- ARTICLES OF SURRENDER; and Publick ACTS of INDEMNITY, amount to nothing, --- OATHS and COVENANTS, are but occasionall Submissions to Conventions; not Binding any man, that in the very act of Taking them, resolves to Break them. Let things come to the Worst; when we have Overturned the Government; --- Polluted the very Altar, with our MASTERS BLOOD --- Cheated the Publick, &c. 'Tis but to Whine and Snivel to the People; tell them we were mis-led, by Cardinal Appetites; --- cloath all our Roggeries in Scripture-Phrase --- Humble our selves before the Lord (But not a Syllable concerning Restitution) and they'l Forgive us: Nay, perhaps, Trust us too: Think us their Friends, For doing them no more than all the Harme we could. --- 'Tis a good natur'd sort of Beast, --- the Common- People, if it be Pleas'd; and 'tis the Easiest thing in nature, for Fools and Knaves to Please it. They have not been gull'd half long enough yet, --- what will you say now, to a New-Parliament made of an Old one? As Ther's no Fool to the Old one, so there's no Knave to the Old one.

What do ye think of your Episcopal Cole-marcham Sir Arthur, for Durham: and let him bring in his Fellow-Labourer Sir Harry Vane for Newcastle? In the City of London, you cannot choose a-miss, provided, that Iretton or Titchburn, be One; and that he choose his Fellows. --- For Kent, no Man like Sir Michael Livesy, For Norfolk there's Miles Corbet, and if the House does not like him, they may send him to the Red-Bull, for he personates a Fool or a Devil without the Charge either of a Habit or a Pizon. If the Nation be so Charitably dispos'd, as to erect an Hospitall, in favour of the Lame, the Rotten, and the Blind, let 'um take in Limping Luke Robinson; Rheumatick Mounson; Bettle-d-Scot; and the Blinking Cobler. --- But why do I pretend to direct in Particular? ---

A.

Among the Kings Tryers, Excise-men, Sequestrators, Close-Committee-men, Major-Generalls, Buyers and Sellers of the Crown and Church-lands, &c. — they may wink and chuse. Alas, they're all Converted. I'm sure he's Right, cries one; he Told me so. Dull Sottis let us be Right our Selves; and then, what need we care who's Wrong? I'll put a Case to you: suppose, upon the Dissolution of this Session, six or seven thousand of the Phanatique Souldjery, that knowes a Settlement destroyes their Trade. Should try a Blow for't yet; and by the help of some of their Confederates, yet in appearance of Authority, should put a Force upon the Honest Party: ('Tis but to suppose, what many of that Gang are bold enough in Publique to declare) I have a Phansy you'll lock on still, and betake your selves to your Old senseless Plea, — They have the Power. — Which, if you do — No no; you cannot be so Tame, and witleffe.

Be carefull whom you Trust, either in your Militia, or Counsels; Chuse Persons of Estates Honestly gotten; Such, whom the Law Preserves, will Preserve the Law. Whereas, If you chuse such as have an interest of their Own, that th'warts the Publique; you're very Charitable to believe that those people, who all this while, have Cheate You to benefit them Selves, should, at the last, adventure All to preserve You.

March 16. 1659.

UPON the Dissolution of the House, the Phanatick party berook themselves to their wonted Insolence. Declaring publicly (divers of them) that they were not Dissolved: Offering to sit again; and protesting against the Choice of the next Convention. They tamper'd the Army into a Combination; and proceeded to that point of Boldnesse, that the Common-Counsel found it proper to entreat the Counsel of State, and the General to retire into the City, during that Interval of Parliament; for their greater Security.

March 19.

Observing the Leud Practises of the Faction; and desirous to give the world some notice of Particulars, in Order to the better Knowledge of them, I printed this ensuing Paper.

That

THat this Nation hath been long miserable, under the power of a violent and Reffless Faction, is clear to all such as are endued with Memory, and Reason: nor is it more superfluous, to reflect upon their pass'd Miscariages than Necessary to rake some notice of their Later Cheats, and Insolencies. Their Design was, to fix themselves in a Perpetual Counsel; contrary to Oath, and Law; and to cut off successive Parliaments. To carry on which Project, they had Armed all sorts of Libertines, throughout the Nation; particularly, threatening London with Fire and Sword, if they should not comply. Their barbarous purposes were Disappointed, by the General's Re-introduction of the Secluded Members: Together, with the united rage of the People against them. In this hopeless and Deserted condition. what they could not effect by open Force, they attempted by Treachery, and Corruption. They used all Art, and Diligence, during the Session, both to gain Opportunities, and to Emprove them; but being over-voted in the Main, They fell upon a more direct, and shameless method of Villany. — They falsified the Lists of the Militia: — solicited Petitions from the City, for their Continuance: — Juggled the Army-Officers into a Tumult, — Employed their Instruments to Destroy the General; — Mutinied the Army, and the City; and Finally, they engaged a great part of the Souldjery to Remonstrate against the rest of the Nation. But all too little, to prevent their Dissolution; or to Disturb our Hopes of Settlement.

The General hath approved himself, in the calm, steady menage of this wild Affair, a Person worthy of all the Honour we can give him. These Brutish Libertines, — finding all their Plots Bubbled, — their Mines vented, — their Party, weak and Heartless, — themselves Friendless Abroad, and Comfortless at Home, — as Guilty, and as Desperate as Cain; after the sad despair of any the least Benefit to themselves, they are yet pleased in the Contrivance of our Mischief; They're not Dissolved, they tell us, — and attempt to meet again; Thats in vain; and now they come to their last shifts, These Senselesse Cox-combs offer the Honest Generall the Instrument of Government; as

that Noble, Generous Soul, were to be wrought upon, to prostitute his Honour, and his safety; and all this, to preserve a Kimmel of such Reprobated, and Ridiculous Puppies. I wonder seriously, how these Pimps, and Knights o' th' Post, — Scot and his Fellows, scape the fury of the People: That Rabbet-sucking Rascall, with his Fellow Cheats, and Pandars; these are the Youths: Gentlemen, that offer you like Doggs, to any Master, that will bestow the Haltering of you. For shame, bethink your selves.

To be as short as possible, thus far you're safe: but yet these Tumblers have not shew'd all their Tricks: their last Recourse, is to the Forgery of Letters; (but so ridiculously framed, they are rather argument of Sport, than Anger: for the Brewer is much better at a Cheat, than at a Stratagem) There are diverse Scandalous Papers dispersed, in the Name of the King; and as the sense of the Royall Party. You shall do well, to take notice, that nothing of that Quality, proceeds either from Himself, or his Friends. The Project is Phanatique, and tends only to hinder our Expected, and Approaching Settlement. To mention One for All; there is a Phamphlet of yesterday, Entituled — *News from Brussels, in a Letter from a near attendant on his Majesties Person, to a Person of Honour Here — Which Casualty became thus Publick.*

Do but observe this Formall Noddy, how he Boggles upon the very Title-page. — *How Casually, Good-man Sense-lesse? Did it Drop into a Printing House, and Publish it self?* — his Title is followed, with a Suitable Text; of so Plyfull an Ayre, and Fashion, I am ashamed to confesse the reading of it. Indeed I would advise the Secretary, rather to returne to his Placket-Politiques, for he is not half so good at State, as Bamdery. To deliver his aim in other termes, for fear of giving the Reader a Vomit. The principal drift of his discourse is to Personate a Royalist, Charging the Presbyterians with the murder of the King, and professing an Implacable Animosity against the whole party. — Not to employ more subtilty than needs upon so Fivolisous a Subject. Let this suffice.

Who Murdered the King, the Nation knows; and who interposed

posed to Save him; — who they are, that at this instant, Oppose a Settlement, and who Desire it; Nay More; we know, who cannot Live Under a Peaceable Government, and who cannot Live Without it: And it is fit to shew all honest people to distinguish.

Those, that have designed us for Slavery, it is but reason to mark them out for Justice: yet I should advise tenderness; whereby saving a Few, Infamous Malefactors, we do not hazard a more Considerable Loss. He that Forgives them, extends his Charity, but he that Trusts a man of them, Betrayes his Countrey.

March. 24. 1659.

THe Agitators were now grown so Busie in the Army, that the Counsel of State put forth a Proclamation against them; and had not the singular prudence of the General check'd the Malice of that Confederacy, It would have prov'd of dangerous Consequence. Finding themselves thus disappointed of those early hopes they had as to the Army: Their next Trick was to procure Elections for their purpose: and this they labour'd to effect, by Tampering with the Sheriffs, where they found any capable of a Bribe: and by their Interest in some pedling Factionous Boroughs, to get Themselves and their Friends chosen.

This being the present Danger, I Dispersed some Hundreds of Papers, the Title and Copy whereof follows.

A Necessary and Seasonable Caution, Concerning Elections.

THe miserable disquietment of this Nation, arising principally from Abuse of Trust, practis'd by those Persons, whom we chose to Represent the People; it concerns

us now at last, to provide warily against future Inconveniences, by a more diligent Examination, and Knowledge of those we expect for the time to come. We find the *Nation Impoverished*; the *Government* both of *Church* and *State dissolved*; and all the *Supports* of a *Publick Magistracie devoured*, by those very people, who instead of *Freeing* us from *Small and few miseries*, (themselves) notoriously exercised over us the greatest oppressions Imaginable. For prevention of the like evils hereafter, we are to be very wary how we chuse;

1. Such persons as *Preach* without a *Call*, and deliver the *Delusions* of *Satan*, for the *Inspirations* of the *Holy Spirit*; (*We may know the Tree by its Fruit.*)
2. Such as either out of *Fear*, or *Interest*, Sacrifice the *Publique Good* to *Passion*, or *Benefit*, shifting from *Party* to *Party*; This *Day* for the *King and Parliamen*; the next, *Pensioners* to the *Protector*, the *Third* for the *Rump*; the *Fourth* for any thing that comes next. Under this notion, I comprise such as make use of a *Parliament-Priviledge*, to *Elude Creditors*, to *Detain* *ill-gotten Possessions*, and to put themselves out of the *Reach* of the *Law*; thereby hindering the due course of *Proceedings* against them.
3. And Lastly, take heed of chusing any Persons that have already *Falsified* their *Trust*,—by engaging in *Illegall Close-Committees*:—In any *Relation* whatsoever of *Malice* towards the *Late King*, in *Purchasers*, or *Sellers* of the *Publique Revenues*:—In *Usurped Impositions* upon the *People*. In Short; such, as have at the price of an *Universal Ruine*, enriched Themselves; and laid the *Foundations* of their *New Babel*, in *Sacriledge*, *Perjury*, *Murther* and *Treason*.

This may suffice for a *Caution* to all such, as are not resolved upon *Beggery*, and *Bondage*.

THe *Phanatics* had at this time many Irons in the Fire, and not without Reason, for they had many Difficulties to Encounter. Their Instant and most pressing Concern was to Nip the *Militia* in the Bud; and either totally to hinder the next appointed Choice, or so to Qualifie and Over-awe it, that we should only be subjected still to the same Faction, with somewhat more *Pretense* of Equity and Form. They knew the Vote and Strength of the whole Nation would be against them. And they set all their Heads and Hands at work to disappoint it. Briefly; they had their Firebrands in the City; their bold and publick Agents in the Countrey; but their great Trust was in the Army; where they had poyson'd a Considerable party; And by whose Ayd they made no doubt of *Lambert*, (tho then a *Prisoner*) to head them, so soon as the Designe were Ripe enough to need him.

Upon this point of Exigence (that nothing might be wanting to procure another War) they cast abroad in Swarms, Seditious Pamphlets; tending not only to Disgrace the Person, and the Office of the King, his Fathers Memory, his Friends, and Cause, but likewise to provoke the *Weaker*, and the lesse Considerate men of his own Party, by an Unseasonable and Mistaking Zeal to blast the Businesse. The Rise and Course of the whole war is search'd into, for Matter to involve the *Murderers* of the King with those that would have Sav'd him, in the same Hazard, Interest, Crime, and Quarrel.

One of the Modestest of these Discourses was put into my hand, with an Express Desire that I would print an Answer to it, which accordingly I did: but rather for my promise sake, then that I thought it worth the while; ---and This was it.

A

A Sober Answer to a Jugling Pamphlet, Entituled, a LETTER INTERCEPTED, &c.

I Have heard of one that has made himself a Cuckold, --- that has pick'd his own pocket, --- and it is possible, a man may Design upon himself, and Intercept his own Letters. The Mischance, I confess, is a little odd, where the Court'd party, --- the Contriver, --- and the Interceptor, are all One, and the same Person. The Plot is Borrowed from the Story of Narcissus; but by what Enemy both to the Author, and Reader, this Discourse is made Publick, were an Enquiry fitter for Authority, than a Private hand. Since so it is, let's make the best of a bad Market: what the Composer has sold Cheap, --- We have Bought Dear, and Both must Live by the Bargain. Without further Prologue. Here's SIR POLITIQUE himself, and we'll take the measure of the man from his Title-page.

A LETTER INTERCEPTED, --- Printed for the Use, and Benefit of the Ingenious Reader, in which the Two Different Formes of MONARCHY, and POPULAR GOVERNMENT, are briefly Controversied.

(The Common-Wealth Party are advised not to Buy this by N. D. Gent.)

EX HUNGUE LEONEM. The VOICE is JACOB'S, but the HANDS are ESAU'S. Popular Arguments are of late become such a Drugg, the Authour dares not own his Inclination, for fear the Pamphlet should not off: but rather chuses, under the colour of a Philosophical Debate, to advance a Seditious Design; and instead of delivering a sober Opinion, to excite a turbulent Faction. This will appear

pear in its due place ; but in the *Front*, 'twas not so proper to disclose himself. The Title is but a more formal kind of Bo-peep, — a consenage of the Reader into a Two-penny expence, upon a thing not worth Three-ha'pence.

In the next page, you'll find him more composed, and Magisterial. He complements himself, Kisses his own fair Hand, — Promises us an *Honest, Plain, Rationall Discourse*, not clogg'd with *Maxims*, or *Examples* ; and then he falls to the work upon the *Question*.

Whether Monarchy, or the Popular Form of Government, be in Reason more safe and profitable for the People ? [pag. 2.]

He proceeds thence, to Distinguish Monarchy into *Absolute*, and *Mixt or Regulated*, [ibid.] (tho' by his Favour, *Mixt*, implies a contradiction.)

The *Absolute* (he sayes) is *Absolutely* *unlawfull*, and disconsonant both to the *Laws of God and Nature*

If either *One*, or the *Other* : How comes it then, that God himself, styles *NEBUCHADNEZZAR* (the King of Babylon) *HIS SERVANT* : upon the most expresse, and severe penalties imaginable, commanding an Obedience to him ? What means the Prophet David when he sayes --- The Lord keep me from doing that thing unto my Master, *THE LORDS ANNOINTED* ? That Tyrants Life, which pursued his, was then at his Mercy ; and a Phanatique Counsel, at his Elbow, advising him, to improve the Providential Opportunity of taking it away ; (but our Common-Wealth's-men are wiser, possibly, and Honester, than David.) This might suffice ; but He goes on, and so shall I, to bear him Company. ---

It is against the *Moral Law*, (he tells us) for me to dispose of my own life ; since that Law, which Commands me, not to kill ; does certainly require me, not to kill myself, and the *Law of Nature and Nations*, does warrant any man to kill, rather than to be kill'd. But He, that willingly and of Choyce, lives under a monarchy absolute, must, and doth submit all that he hath, Life not excepted, to be at the will of the Monarch, &c. [pag.]

What pains this worthy Gentleman takes, to prove himself as good a Statesman, as he is a Casuist, is not my Life as well exposed to any Government? Since wheresoever you place the Rule, the last appeal lies There; and There's the power of Life and Death, by the Agreement of all Nations. Again, An absolute Monarch must be wicked, to destroy a Loyal Subject; and if a Limited, will be so Impious too. There's no Relief, but Flight. The right of self preservation, which our Author intimates; concerns but Individuals, as Liberty; --- Grotius his *Dissociatam Multitudinem*. There, Every man is every Bodies Enemy: but when we come to finde, that safety, better secured by social Compact; and by reducing all the several, and Disagreeing Particulars, under the Regiment of some certain Lawes directed to the Common benefit of all: In this Case, we part with our Original Right, for the obtaining of a Nobler Good; --- Society, and Order; without which, there's no Peace, I might here mind our Prevaricating Author, of a Morality which he forgets, and that's Obedience. Rebellion is a Blacker Crime, than Murder; for it is That, and More; but I would first convince him, that Killing is not alwaies Murder and that in many cases, a man must rather chuse to be Killed, than Kill. The Law strikes with the Sword of Justice; and sure it is not Murder, by a Legal process, to destroy a Malefactor. I were That at least in me, to Kill the Judge, to save my self. (But I suppose, our Author speaks his Interest, rather than his Opinion) In fine, I cannot justify the Commission of a sin to save my Life. To draw my Sword against my Prince although to save my self; in me, is Treason. But if I lose my Life, by not opposing Him, 'tis He alone that's Criminal, I am Innocent. Nor does the choise alter the Case one jot; if I may Obey an Absolute Monarch, I am as free to chuse One, where I am at Liberty to chuse the Form I would be govern'd by. It is the Rulers part, not to command amiss, and 'tis the Subjects Duty to Obey; (*modo nihil Imperet, Naturali Juri, aut Divinis preceptis Contrarium*) and at the worst; refuse, without Resisting.

Nay, but our Author tells us; --- A Free People, that have it in their

their choice, and Power (as England now) to do otherwise, and shall submit their Lives to the will, and dispose of an absolute Monarch, are most evidently thereby, in danger of becoming guilty of self-Murther.] [pag. 3]

Go thy waies N. D. for a profound Head piece! --- They are in more danger of self-murther, in submitting to a Limited Monarch that is, of Hanging themselves, if the King should compare as there ever a more exorbitant Tyrant than Cromwell? Our free-men were content enough with him. Come! --- out wit, Our modeller would speak, if he had a spoon, but the man is modest; I'll do't for him. 'Tis this he would be at.

That we are now at Liberty to chuse our Government; and that the King would play the Tyrant, should he return. If his own Head does not sit sure. He may thank himself. I would fain learn, from whence we date our Freedom. Who has ABSOLVED us, of our OATHS, and DUTIES of ALLEGEANCE? Did we not swear to the late King, and to his Heirs? And can a Government be altered, but by Consent of all the Parties to it? This is too much said, upon a subject not properly my Business. I'll proceed and wait upon him to his next Enquiry; and that's concerning Regulated Monarchy; but so Embroiled, 'tis infinitely harder to understand than to confute. Of Regulated Monarchies, Ours here in England is beholden to him, he likes that best, and gives his Reason, Thus; The Excellency of that Monarchy, WAS, that the Monarch without his Counsell could do no considerable thing.] [pag. 3.]

By his fair leave, the Excellency of the GOVERNMENT, he would have said: for 'tis the Imperfection of the Monarchy. But why WAS? IS it not, de Jure, still the same?

He prosecutes this Train of Errors, yet with more;

All things were to be done in conjunction with his Counsell; either that Grand one, his Parliament, consisting of Nobles, and Commons; or his Lesser Counsell, consisting of Nobles chiefly, &c.]

Our Author, I perceive, is willing to confound Counsell, and Authority: Whereas to represent, is one thing; 'tis another thing to Judge. It is the Counsell's duty to propose, and advise, according

to their Reason, but still it is the Monarch's part to *As* according to his own: without that Freedom, the Prince is bound to *As* in many Cases against his Conscience; and his Assistants are become his Governors. Not to insist upon the Gentleman's mistake, in asserting All things to be done in conjunction with his Counsell. This is too evident, to need a refutation. He spends his two next Pages, in dilating upon the Desire of absolute Power in the Monarch; and the Reserves, or acquisitions of the People; were he dashes the Kings Prerogative, and the Privileges of Parliament, the One against the Other. Whereas the King hath some Prerogatives without a Parliament, but the Parliament hath not so much as any Being, without the King: (he being an essentiall of it.)

To pass over his False-fires, I shall come now to his main Strength: And thus it runs —

The Monarch cannot Rationally be thought to have other Business, or Study, than to confirm, and establish the Monarchy to himself. [pag. 5.]

To this: First, Hee's Emited to the Government: (That, pro concessio) Next; hee's Entrusted, in Order to the Publique Welfare, to uphold it; and That, not only in the Form, but to Himself: 'Twere to Betray his Trust, should he do less.

As to the appetite of Rule, which (as our Popular Champion will have it) transports the Monarch, into a dangerous elevation above the People: --- That Restless Impotency, is much more Hazzardous, in any other Government, than in that of Monarchy. For, the Monarch's upper-most already: and rationally. Ambition seeks rather to Raise it self above all others, than when 'tis at that Height, still to exceed it self. 'Tis but a glorious envy, which aspires till it be highest, and there determines.

As there is less temptation from without, so must the inclination, be much calmer. Greatness is native and familiar to the Monarch: or, in case any eagerness of Spirit should enflame him; It spends it self upon his Neighbours liberties, rather than upon his Peoples: and 'tis extent of Empire abroad, not enlargement of Prerogative at home, he covets.

This

This is not to exempt the Person of a Prince, from the frailties of a Man: he may be vicious. But that too with less mischief to the publique than to Himself. He ha's no private aims, but what proceed from Principles nearer ally'd to Kindness; then to Malice.

Now, to examine the likely Incidences to popular Government, and to proceed upon his *Postulatum*, That in all men there's an inbred appetency of Power. That granted, what can we expect from Persons of mean Fortunes, and extraction, (invested with a title to Dominion) but Bondage, and Oppression? The short is, there are many men, ---- earnestly intent upon the same end; spurr'd on by keen and craving Desires, to make themselves Rich, Great; and these design to raise their Fortunes, and Reputations upon the publick Stock of blood and treasure. At last when they have skrewed themselves up to that pitch of Power, by force, and craft, where divine providence, by birth, had placed the single Person: ---- when after a sharp, long, and chargeable contest, they have brought us within view but of the counterfeit of what we quietly enjoy'd before: Ready to seize the sum of their own wishes; and the dear-purchas'd Fruit of all their Labours: ---- they find that point, which supports Sovereignty, too narrow for them all; too large for any one of them; -- and, as they climbed together, so they fall; ---- crush'd by those Hands, and Principles that rais'd them. We need not look far Back for instances. What ha's obstructed our long look'd-for Settlement, but Competitours for a personal rule; even among the *Salus-populi*-men themselves? 'Tis nobler at the worst, to yield our selves to prey to a single Lyon, than to a Herd of Wolves: and that's the Difference, upon experiment, betwixt the tyranny of One, and of a Hundred? (--- old Oliver, and the Rump.) Methinks 'tis a strange Confidence, to Argue for a Cause, confuted by the loss so many Lives and Millions. For these twelve years last past, we have been Slaves to Tyrants; Divided, in design to supplant one another, but still United, to destroy the Nation, under the gay amulement of a Free-state. But I grow tedious.

The

The next thing I take notice of, is very remarkable (i.e.) Our Author's in the right-- he says that *From the Sovereignty, there lies no appeal.* But then he follows; that *where a People will be ruled by a King they must give that King absolute power to Govern.* [pag. 6.]

No need of that sure neither, --- the *Sovereignty is in the King, tho' in a Limited Monarchy*: which so attemper'd; as that the *People may not Rule in any Case, nor the King, (singly by himself) in All; secures all Interests.* I must fix one note here, before I pass.

Although our Author tells us, [pag. 7.] that *Absolute Monarchy is unlawful; & Regulated, Dangerous: nevertheless, he rather advises the former than the latter*; --- That, which he terms *Disconsonant to the Laws of God*, than the *Other*, which he pronounces only *Dangerous*, as related to the *civill Good, and Utility of the People.*

This is the Method of the whole party; they decry, first, the Form it self, as being too *Tyrannical*; yet they condemn, the *Limited of Insufficiency*, as to the *Exercise of Government*; and the *absolute, of Exorbitancy*, as to the *End of it.* One has too much *Liberty* the *Other too Little.* What is't they offer in *Exchange*? a *Free-State*; --- of a *Model*, ten times more *Arbitrary and Pernicious.* When they have spent their *Powder* upon the *Government*; (for 'tis but *Powder*) their *Shot* is still directed to the *Person.* *Hinc illæ Lachrymæ.* How have they courted the *Generall*, (whose *Honesty*, is as *Invincible* as his *Courage*) to *Accept* of what these *Paper-Kites* so much disclaim against? Our *Grave, Philosophising Mounseieur*, he makes one too, and tells us, --- that *Providence hath cast the Lot upon the Peoples side, and the Monarch has lost, if the People will exclude him.* ---

Alas Good man! the *Congregation's Holy* every one of them--*Pre-tious Beagles!* to ascribe that to *Providence*, which they owe to *Perjury, and Sacrilege.* Where's your *Prescription*? Wheres your *Title*? Enform the *People*, by what power they are absolved from all their *ties of Conscience: Honour, Thankfulness, and Piety.* Show them the *Laws their Fathers purchased with their Bloods.* Preach to them out of *Magna Charta.* There's the *Foundation of the Peoples Free-*

Freedoms. But Sir I ask you pardon; The *Kings* a *woolf* you say, and all the *abjuring Saints* are *Lambs*, I warrant ye. But by your leave once mote; you are absolutely of Opinion then, not to admit the *King* by any manner of means? -- Indeed you should do well, not to *Anticipate the Parliament*, it spoyles the project, to play the *Tyrant*, while you argue for the *People*. Pray let the *King* come in if the next *Parliament* pleases.---

I must be now a little serious; for your next Paragraph has a spice of *Conscience* in't (the *Word* I mean) you will perswade the *World*, that if the *King* comes in; 'tis neither *Faith*, nor *Honour*, nor *Humanity*, nor all together, can tye up his *Revenge*. It would become you to tell the *People*, where ere he brake his *Faith*; Nay, Ill content my self, if youll but shew me, where ever your *Phanatiques* Kept an *Oath*, or *Promise*, if they might gain (the *least*) by *Breaking* of it. The *Conversation* of the *Person* you inveigh against is beyond all *Exception*, *Honourable*: and tis in vain to mis-en-form, against an evident and contrary assurance. Many of those very men that fought against him, will witness for him: both for his *Courage*, and his *Clemency*. His *Prudence*, and his *Piety*, are manifest, in This: that in despite of all *Distresses*, and *Temptations*, he stands *Firm*, to his *Temper*, and to his *Conscience*. A *Better Friend*, there lives not; nor a *Better Nature*. And this is He at last, our *Guilty Pamphletter* bestows his *Gall* upon. I am no stickler for *Prerogative*: my *Patience*, will hold out till the next *Session*: but to see *Majesty* invaded by a *private Hand*, — the *People* *Poyson'd*, by the same instruments that destroyed the *Prince*, — all I can say is, we are tame *Fools*, to suffer it. But though his passion may be *Troublesome*, our *Author* gives us some *Diversion* in his *Argument*, and (Kinder still) he proves best *Company* at last. *Kingly Government* if not absolute, (he sayes) is *Lame*; if *Absolute*, — *Destructive* to the *People*. Very good: Help the *Defect*, (if that be all) of the *One*; or at least, do not impose upon us, in another shape, the possible *Mischiefs* of the *Other* -- pray whats the *Difference*, as to our *Security*; the *Supreme Authority* under a *Popular Form*, or the same power

power under a *Monarchique*? You'll have your *Popular Assembly*, the *Judge Unquestionable* of all *Expediences*, and *Dangers*: why not a *Single Person* as well? You say, *He may abuse that power*; and I say so may *They*. For instance, suppose they judge it fit to change the very *Form*, what *Hinders* them? or if they rather chuse, to entayl the *Government* upon their own *Families*, and to perpetuate themselves, what *Remedy*? If any, they're not *Alsolute*: if none, we are worse *Here*, than *Before*. The *King* cannot *Betray* the *Peoples Trust*; these may.

What signifies your telling us, that the *King* *alsolute*, is not bound to the *Laws* he shall make? [pag. 9.] And by and by, -- that contrary to the *Monarchy*, this, (meaning *Democracy*) makes not any one *Law*, to which every individuell person in the *Assembly*, is not subject? (the whole *Assembly* indeed, as it is the *Soveraign power*, is unquestionable, you say.) 'Tis not the *Persons*, but the *Power*, we are to consider; *Conjunctim*, they're as little subject as the *single Tyrant*; and possibly they'll ne're dis-joyn, they that can make what *Laws* they please, will doubtlesse make this one of the number, — that their own *Members* shall be only tryable by their *Peers*: and by that device; they make themselves both *Parties* and *Judges*.

To grant more then is needfull; — be it — that in a *State of Quiet*, and *Universal liberty*, such a *Form* might be admitted, as our *Contriver* trusts upon us; but to attempt to force a *Government*, that excludes nineteen parts of twenty of the people, from the exercise of it; and this upon a *Nation pre-engaged* by *Oath*, and (by a sad experience) *interested* against it. — How practicable, or how prudent, such a proposal may appear to others, I cannot say: To me it wears the *Face* of a *Design*, promoted by a *Faction*, guilty *Party*, to sacrifice the *Nation*, to their private interests, and despayres.

And yet such is the charity of our *Author*, he reckons all the miscarriages of these late years in *Government*, but as foul way upon a *Journey*: and bids us not conclude against our *Inne* at *Night* because the passage was dirty. (This is according to his wonted tenderness.)

Now to my *Phansy*, it looks rather thus. We have been hitherto mis-

wisdom: our very Guides know well'd us, and yet they bid us follow them still, they'll bring us to Paradise at last. — Whether they'll carry us, we know not; — we are in the Briers at present; — we know the way home again; — what have we then to do, but to return?

Our Authors little Reasonings concerning Trade, are triviall; I shall refer him to the Merchants for his Answer. They are the fittest Judges in the Case. They have try'd war, and peace, Monarchy, and Popular Government; let them say which they like best. — His Pen begins to run a little muddy: and what I do not understand, I'm not oblig'd to answer. Something he talks of Peace abroad, and of the motives to it; which he pronounces to be Advantage and no Body denies it.

This does not hinder, — because the Reasons of the Peace betwixt the Crowns of France and Spain, might properly result from a Particular Conveniency of State betwixt them, that therefore the effects of that Agreement cannot referr to Us. They're more at Leisure now: nay there's a high necessity incumbent upon them, to send abroad those Forces, which otherwise would be both Expensive, and Dangerous at Home (Not to presse other arguments, of themselves obvious, to hasten our Compofure, even for that very Cause; that they're Agreed.)

I presume not to direct, as our Imperious Commonwealths-man does; but as one Private Person, I pretend to Reason the Opinions of another, submitting still my Judgement to any Legal determination, or Rational Conviction.

Touching the King of Spains Design to Propagate the Romish Religion [Ibid.] — we're the securer for that very design, if we unite upon the Basis of the English Law: The meer Antiperistasis preserves us: whereas, If we compell that Person, who by Divine Assignment, and Civil right, is our undoubted Sovereign; to employ Foreign Succours to recover his Dominions; It may be feared, (and 'tis but Reason) that Spain will Article for some concessions, in favour of the Catholicks, more then otherwise would, possibly, be granted to them: where the Fault lies, in case of this extremity, let the People Judge. —

Bless us, — *where* King of Kings has said n' our Friend, none of
a faddish — He calls on the *Winn* Serv; for his Compurgators, and de-
sires them to declare — what Government. (He'll feed their Flocks
in the mean while.) Indeed, these *Pulpit-Politiques* are not amiss.
The Priests shall tell us what Government fits their Reformation. Pray
Sir, let me help you out; — a *Gloss* upon the Covenant, does your
Business: — is but to tell the people, that in the Holy Tongue, KING,
signifies COMMON-WEALTH, and the work is done.

The Gentleman, begins now to Fumble, and Talke Idle; and, in effect, he's drawing home. But first he recommends the Nurcery and Education of his Brat-proieſs, even unto any Kinde and Powerfull hand that will promote it. From hence, he paſſes into a Quaint Reſemblance of the ſtate of the Nation, to a man in a feavour, and the People in Grouſs, to a Reſtive Horſe with a Gall'd Back: and ſo committing the iſſue to the Lord, the man Departs.

His thoughts, and mine do not agree; what ere the matter is. His Consent is this, *The Nation's mad*; and Promoted by false appetite, covets things *Mischievous*; (that is, *Monarchy*) the wise and Charitable Physician, (that is the *Common-wealths man*,) he forces upon it what he knows to be more proper for the Cure, (and this is a *Free State*) — Now here's our difference.

I'm of opinion, that the Physicians are mad; the Nation sicker, we've try'd their Physick, for some dozen years together; and every day we're worse then other upon it; we finde upon Experiment, that they prescribe us Reason, instead of Remedies, and that they are but Mountebanks; they Live by Killing us. Our Former Diet agreed much better with our Constitution, so that we have no way left but to fall to That again.

But to conclude; — his conceit of a Jaddish People with a Gall'd Back, That's his Master-Piece. He tells us, it will neither suffer a Rider, nor a Dressing, till it be overcome by Force, and then a Child may up, and Ride it.

These are somewhat broad signs. Now by your favour, Sir, the Faults not in the Horse; but rather in the Rider, and the Saddle. The

The Nation has been Ridden these dozen years together, at Switch, and Spur, in a Commonwealth Saddle; That must needs pinch the Back of a Man, and make him sweat. But if we will take down our imaginary Change out the SADDLE, and the RIDER, and you shall see the Nation will do well, without a Horseleech.

March 27. 1660.

Upon the neck of this, came out Two sharper Pamphlets; written, (as I am of late Enformed) by a Renegado Parson; but as then, I took them to be either *Nedham's*, or *Milton's*, (a Couple of *Curre* of the same Pack) They were Printed by *Liveswell Chapman*, and a Proclamation from the Council was issued out, against him for it, to which he never appeared. I was by many Reasons moved to Answer these; as well to lay them Open, and Confute them, as to prevent the Possible exception that might arise from a Reply by some less way, though more skilfull pen.

The malice of these Pamphlets was Double-edged; and the Blow made at the Kings Party over the Presbyterians Shoulder: Directed to perswade the World that 'twas the Presbyterian did the Mischief; and to engage the Presbyterian himself under an Apprehension of Revenge: The scope will better appear upon the Reading, and whether I did *Well*, or *Ill*, to write these following *Answers*.

Plain English,
 TO HIS
 EXCELLENCIE
 The LORD GENERALL
 MONK,
 AND
 The OFFICERS of the ARMY under his
 COMMAND.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

IT is written, The prudent shall keep silence in an evil time; and 'tis like, we also might hold our peace, but that we fear a knife is at the very throat, not only of our and your Liberties, but of our persons too. In this condition, we hope it will be no offence, if we cry out to you for help, you that (through Gods goodness) have helped us so often, and strenuously maintained the same Cause with us, against the return of that Family which pretends to the Government of these Nations. It is the pulick interest and yours, that we hitherto sought for, and for which we now plead; therefore we insist upon it with the greater confidence before

fore you, because we are all equally concerned in the good or ill of your transactions: we cannot yet be persuaded, though our fears and jealousies are strong, and the grounds of them many, that you can so lull asleep your Consciences; or forget the publick Interest, and your own, as to be returning back with the multitude to Egypt, or that you should with them be hankering after the Leeks and Onions of our old bondage. Though it were possible you should forget, yet certainly God will not, all the injuries and oppressions done by that family to his Church and people in these and other Nations: Though the Inscription [Exit Tyrannus] which was fixed over the place where the Statue of the late King formerly stood at the Exchange, hath been blotted out by the Rabble; yet it is written with the Pen of a Diamond in the hearts of many thousands, and will be so hereafter in the adamantine Rolls of Fame and History. No matter then, though the prophane Vulgar take a liberty to proclaim him both Saint and Martyr in the midst of their Bon-fires, and their Tipple. All the good fellows were ever at his Devotion, because he was for theirs, and commanded it to be observed upon the Sundaies. But to the end it may be better known how good a King, and how great a Saint he was, we have taken the boldness at this instant to offer you an accompt of some part of the transactions during his Reign: and because there are too many in the City who wait the good time to re-ere^t his Statue, we desire in the first place to present you his Picture, as it was drawn by a good hand, the Parliament, in the year 1647. at which time it was resolved upon the Question joyntly by the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled. That they would make no further Addresses or Applications to the King; or receive any Message from him.

ANSWER.

SOME two dayes since, came to my view, a Bold, Sharp Pamphlet, call'd PLAIN ENGLISH --- directed to the GENERAL, and his OFFICERS, &c. ---

It is a Piece drawn by no fool, and it deserves a serious Answer. --- By the Design; --- the Subject; --- Malice, and the Scile;

Stile; I should suspect it for a Blot of the same Pen that wrote **ICONOCLASTES**. It runs foul; --- tends to Tumult; --- and, not content Barely to Applaud the Murder of the King, the execrable Author of it vomits upon his Ashes; with a Pedantique, and Envenom'd Scorn, persuing still his sacred Memory. Betwixt Him, and his Brother *Ralshakeb*, I think a man may venture to divide the glory of it; it relishes the mixture of their united faculties, and wickedness. As yet, 'tis true; the Hand is somewhat doubtfull to us; but the Drift, --- Certain, and 'tis as Clear from whence it first mov'd, as to what end it tends, it speaks the Rancour, and the interest of the Rump; be the contrivance whose it will; and, beyond doubt, it was written by some Mercury to the Faction; and That, by their direction, and appointment. 'Tis too Malicious, for a private Passion; and too Dangerous, for one that writes not, either for Bread, or Life. Take it in gross; 'tis an Alarm to all the Phanatiques in England; couched under the specious notion of an Appeal to the General, and his Army, asserting to all purposes, the interests; and Justifying the horrid Practises of the Regicide-Party. ---

It Remonstrates; --- Expostulates; --- Tempts; --- Threatens; --- Flatters; --- Begs; --- Perjurates; and by all Artifices, toward all Humours, it moulds it self into an application suit: b e: --- only upon the Blood, and Family of the late King; it lashes out into an Impious, and Inhumane fury, sufficient to Disgrace, the Sober (in comparison) promoters of his Death; and to Startle their very Consciences, that spilt his Blood with Pleasure.

Nor does the Bruish Rebel only quit the Man, in point of Tenderness; his rage against the Royall Line, disturbs his Reason too. (otherwise smooth enough to delude such as are not very well aware of him) Whether it be the Agony, and Horror of a Wounded Soul, which thus transport him; or that, in these excesses, he only Personates the last Convulsions of a Heart-broken Faction; --- It matters not: Thus much we may collect from his distempers

distemper; That Rabble is, as this instant, upon a Combination to Tumultuate the Army, and the People, and such as will not share the Guilt of their Conspiracy, they labour to engage within the Reach and Danger of it. That we may better understand what they Design, wee'll see a little what they say.

This Pamphlet speaks the sense of the whole Gang; and thoroughly Examined, will discover the frame, and the extent of, of their lewd Purposes.

I look upon't as an Affront to Christianity, and to Reasonable Nature; so scandalous; I vow to God, in Favour merely of Humanity, I would suppress it, were no more Copies extant of it: but 'tis too late for that. The Countreys are already furnished; and the Town yet full of them; (the singular, and careful care of the Publick Magistrate to hinder it notwithstanding) so that it rests now, only to lay open the vile interests of this bloody Faction, and Antidote the People against the danger of their Pestilent Infusions. Let Time produce the Author; (if it be lawfull to Prophane the Light with such a Monster) The Matter only of this Licentious Paper must be my Subject.

IF we must never be quiet, till these People think themselves Safe, we must stay till divine Justice is dissolved;—till they believe the word, and Power of God, a Fable;—till they can Lay that Devil, Conscience;—and Blot out of the Table of their Memories, all their Presumptuous outrages, both against Heaven and Earth;—till they can Quench those raging Horrors that Exagitate their Souls;—Remove those hideous Fantomes, (that where'to-ere they fly) pursue them, with the images of those that they have murder'd, Bleeding afresh: and when they think to Turn away their Looks from the Dire object, to the other side, they meet with a Remembrancer, that mindes them of their Sacrilege, and Treason; and then they start again, another way; and there they meet with a Sword drawn, to revenge their Perjuries. In fine, their Injuries are of a large extent, and such, by consequence, must be
their

their fears (while they perlist in their Impenitence.)

In this distresse, rather of Thought, than Danger; of Terror from within, rather than Violence; without; They do well, to implore the *Generall* help, to save their Lives, that would have taken His: especially, obliging him (in *Surplus*) with this additional respect: That they have made him Free of the Phanatiques; — Embarked him in the same Bottom with themselves; — and Finally, Involved the Honour, and the Saver of his Countrey, in common, with the Blemish, and the Pest of all mankind.

Say, — *MILTON*; *NEDHAM*; either, or both, of you (or whosoever else) — Say where this Worthy Person, ever mixt with you? (That is; You, — or those that Employ you, and allow you wages) more, then in order to those very purposes, to which he still adheres, and from whence, you recede.

The returne of that Family, which *Pretends* [as this Tumbler phrases it] to Govern us, nor was nor is the Question. The publick interest, that he fought for, and you swore to: — was the Preserving of our BIRTH-RIGHTS: — the good old LAWS: — his MAJESTIES LEGAL AUTHORITY: — the PRIVILEDGES of PARLIAMENT, &c. — (*Read the Old Declarations*) not to maintain a Canting Faction in the Army; — a Py-bald Ministry: — or, which amounts to all: — the Residence: — the Errata's of an Honest Parliament.

Again, to comply fairly with an Univerfall Vote; — That, does our Scribler call *forgetting of a publique Interest*; and keeping of the Covenant, or an Oath, is, with him *lulling of a Man's conscience asleep*. A desire to be well again; after a Cursed fit of the Spleen (and ply'd with steel too) of well-nigh Twenty years continuance, — our Demy-Levite, — terms it a *Hankering after our Leeks and Onions*. For that, — Every man as he likes: you're for a Rump, it may be. — I'm for somewhat else. Believe me, I had rather Live poor, and Honest; than Hang Rich; and Treacherous: — then give my self a turn in one of the King's old Houses. But —

De Gustibus, non est Disputandum.

I'm

I'm sorry my first Page is Printed. — I shall be thought a Fool now, for suspecting our Plain-English-man, of Vvit. Something there's in his vein, like bottle Ale. Stir it; — It Tumults, Sputters and at last it spends it self in Foam, — but Nourishment, or Comfort there's none in't. — The Fellows Jadish, Dull, — out of his Beaten and Known Rode; but when he comes to rail against the King, he's in his Element. There, he's a Thorough-pac'd, Egregious villain; and yet a Stumbler; but a false step or two may be allowed him.

This Formal Devil, — how great an honour does he to the Royal Family, in his reviling of it! — *The Injuries and Oppressions it has done to Church, and People*, trouble him sore. The *Blotting out of* — EXIT TYRANNUS, sticks in his stomach too, but, though the *Statues gone*, the *Story shall stand firm*, there lyes his Consolation.

Audacious Brute, (the Blot, and the Deformity of Humane Race.) During the Warr, the Nation lay oppress'd under the Common fate of an Intestine Broyl. The Quarrel was disputed both with Pens and weapons, doubtfully, as to the Vulgar; — among the wiser sort, some steer'd their course by Interest, or Passion; others resign'd themselves, (abstracted from all other thoughts) to what they reckoned Piety, and reason. (Thus far the Burthen seems divided. After this the King is made a Prisoner, and his Party sunk, now I Demand; Wyho has oppress'd us since, but those that Swore till then, they fought to save us? If we look back beyond the Warr, our Mischief there was, that we were better fed than taught. We were Rich, Wanton, and Rebellious.

But I begin to waver in my undertaking. — I find I have a Wolf to deal with, not a Man; That preys upon the Dead. A Devil! — whose Business is to break the Bonds of Unity and Order, and to Calumniate Vertue. Nor does it serve him; the bare Murther of his Master, [as it does other beasts of Rapine, that leave the Carcasse, when they have sucked the Blood.] This wretch must desecant, and Rhetoricate upon his Ashes, with an Audacious Perulancy: — Make Providence it self a Complicate; and with a

Comique sawcyness, Place or Displace ; — in Heaven, or Hell as his Luxuriant Humour pleases.

BRADSHAW, these Villains rank among the Heroes ; (and he deserves a Saints place in their Kalender) — a man, of whom we dare not barely hope well, so enormous was his life, and so Conform, his Obstination in that lewdness to his Death.

Whereas, that glorious Creature, that Dyed the object of this Monsters insolence, and Rage, that innocently suffered, what that Pageant-President as vilely acted : — that with a Primitive patience, Piety, Constancy, and Resignation, endured the scorn, the injuries, and persecutions of his own Subjects, and at the the last, received his Death, from their very hands, in whose behalf he Dyed.

This Saint and Martyr, [BOTH ; beyond Controversie, so far as we can Judge] is by our Charitable intelligencer Enroll'd in the Black List, — Charged with *Indevotion* and *Intemperance* ; so as was our Saviour a Wine-bibber, a haunter too of Publicans and Sinners : — to whose Inimitable example, [I speak with Reverence, to God and Truth] both in his life, and suffering, I do believe, the story of our Late Sovereign, bears the nearest proportion of all others. — But tis *amid their Bon-fires, and their Tipple* [this Miscreant tells us] *that he's Canonized* ; — and that *his Majesty commanded Drinking as a Sunday exercise*. The World that knew the King, knows this to be a Lye, [but tis our Mercuries Trade ; — 'tis his *Diana* to amplyfie a little for the Publique good] 'tis true, there were some Liberties upon the Sabbath, which being mis-employed, were counter-manded. (How does this scandal both of Providence, and Society, scape Thunder, or a Dagger !

we shall now have the story of our King and Saint : (he says) and to usher in the erection of his Statue, his Picture first, — drawn by the PARLIAMENT in 1647. (as our libellous Pamphletter would perswade us) when the Vote passed both by Lords and Commons, concerning Non-Addresses. I should be tedious to reply upon every particular in the Declaration he talks of :

of: But as to what concerns the needfull, and the proper Vindication of his Majesty; together with those worthy Members, whom this seditious Rump-whelp labours to involve in the same desperate and exorbitant proceedings with his ungracious Masters,—In what concerns, I say, their Vindication, I shall be clear and punctuall; leaving the Judgment of the Controversy, to the Impartial Reader.

WE revive this the rather, (sayes he) because the memory of Men being frail, cannot retain all particulars; which is the reason (we fear) why so many formerly engaged against him as high as any, upon conscientious accompts, both Religious and Civill, are staggering and backsliding, and have need of some quick and faithfull Monitor to mind them of things past, and make them beware of the present, lest they return with the Rout, and cry, Let us make our selves a King again of that Family; that Family which so cruelly persecuted us and our Brethren, and which still remains engaged by reason of State, and ancient Principles of Enmity and Interest, to plow up the old Furrows upon our backs, and re-deliver our persons and consciences into the hands of our old Tormenters; and our Men of might, and our Counsellours, to become sacrifices to the revenge of an implacable party. March on then, (my Lord and Gentlemen,) for believe it, there is in point of Safety no possibility of retreat, and much less in point of Conscience or Honor; For, if you respect Conscience, (as we hope you do) lay your hands upon your hearts, and tell us what hope you or we can have, that the reformed Religion and Cause will be protected and maintained by the Son, which was so irreligiously betrayed both at home and abroad by the Father. It may be you do not readily remember these things, nor how much blood was spilt by royal treachery, nor the manifold usurpations and designs by him projected and acted upon our liberty, the like never done by any Prince before: and for Blood, the Scottish Ministers employed hither Anno 1644. proclaimed and published in Print, That the Late King had spilt more blood than was shed in the ten Heathen Persecutions of the Christians: and the Ministers of London, (as we can shew you by severall

Prints of theirs) declar'd, That satisfaction ought to be had for blood; that he was a Man of blood, and not capable of accomodation with the Parliament. We mention not this to upbraid them; for, we reverence their ancient Zeal in this particular, and humbly entreat them, as well as your Excellency, and the Officers, and all the good people of these Nations, to observe the forementioned Resolves of the Lords and Commons, which were introductory to that most noble Act of Justice afterwards executed upon the King.

And that it may appear to be such; in despite of Ignorance and envy, we have been bold here to present you in Print that most remarkable Declaration of the Commons assembled in Parliament, in pursuance of the said Resolve of both Houses, wherein they declare the Grounds and Reasons why they passed the Resolves of no further Address, and therein you will see also, how well he deserved to lose his head, and his Family the Kingdom; whose corrupt and irreconcilable interest had been the head and fountain of those Rivers of blood and misery which had flow'd so many years about these Nations.

TO help the memories of some, that may very well forget the things they never thought of; and to reproach to others, their inconstancy, who, out of good intent at first engaged, and after That, convinc'd of their Original mistake, upon a better Light, relinquish'd; there needs no better Monitor, than such a Person, whose Guilt and Desperation, transport him beyond all hopes of mercy; ---- This Man solicites for his Head, when under the pretext of Conscience, he labours for a Party: and yet methinks he should not need. Alas! hee's but the Rump's Solicitor, he pleads their Cause, takes their Fee, and vanishes. Impudent Creature, to presume to be afraid; as if a Hangman would disgrace himself to meddle with him! O'h that Family That Family, puzzles our Men of Might, [as the Droll words it!] our Counsellors wonderfully.

Now do I phancy the Fellow, this Bour, extremely: to see the Little Agitatour fall upon his Politiques, betwixt flattery, and
law-

sawcyness, Half-Tutor, and Half-Parasite, with one eye up, and
 t'other down, actost the General.---

*My Lord, and Gentlemen, march on ; [the word of Command ;
 a Noble Rogue] for believe it, Sec.--- there's no retreat, he tells
 them, either in point of safety, conscience, or honour, --- and then
 the Whelp takes another snap at the King: as shamelessly, as
 senselessly, affirming, that the Reformed Religion, [that is, [as I
 suppose he means] the Protestant] and Cause, [that is, the Peo-
 ples Laws and Liberties] was irreverently betrayed by our late So-
 veraign. [Who lost his head in defence of one, and another]
 the Caution he puts in against the Son is of the same alloy, a Per-
 son, so indulgent to his People, that out of his particular Necessi-
 ties, he yet relieved the English prisoners that were taken in *Flan-
 ders* ; although his Enemies ; and, in point of Conscience, further,
 so tender, that he preserves the Church of *England* in the Domini-
 ons of the King of *Spain* : and still, his Honour, with his Religion.
 But let us a little examine his Instances, for he pretends now to
 proceed to proofs.*

The *Scottish Ministers* (as he tells us) proclaimed, and published
 in 1644. That the late King had spilt more blood than was shed in the
Ten Persecutions of the Christians, --- and the *Ministers of London*
 declared him a Man of blood, &c. --- (That is, the *Bishps*, *Priests*,
 and *Officers*, cryed out, saying, Crucifie him, Crucifie him.)
 [That's the Original.] But to come closer to the Business, the
Scottish, and the *Scottish Ministers*, are a clear different thing.
Scottish, denotes the Ancient Faction of the Nation, [No Fa-
 vourers of Kings ;] and *Scottish* ; relates to their Nativity alone,
 abstracted from the Party.

First, they were *Arglyes* Creatures, selected to promote *Arglyes*
 designs : So, not the *Ministry of Scotland*, but a Pack of
Scottish Ministers.

Next, of no more Authority to the Rump, against the King,
 than to the Nation, against the Rump, [in which they are as much
 unsatisfied.]

The

The Ministers of *London*, did as much, he sayes. That's something truly; till we consider what those Ministers were, and by whom, placed, and moulded, for that purpose.

Mrasball was the prime person in the Agency betwixt the two Nations; --- He, that cursed *MEROZ*; He, that was sent Commissioner into *Scotland*; taught them their Lesson there, and then returning, taught some of our reputative Divines to sing the same Tune, Here. --- This is the Man, that clos'd with *Nye*, when *Presbytery* went down; and carried the 4. Bills to the King, at *Carisbroock-Castle*, for which, they had 500l. apiece. I could tell you of some more of the Gang, that, under question for confederacy with *Love*, after a due formality of seeking God, delivered, as upon account of Inspiration, that *Oliver* Protector was the person; and his the Government, of all that ever were, or should be, the most agreeable to God.

This is not, to lessen the esteem of Holy Orders; neither to fix a rash, irreverend Censure upon the Ministry: No Man reveres the Character of a Church-man more than my self. But 'tis to shew the World, how much our Pamphlet-Berchand is steer'd, by Interest, and Passion, and how little, by Reason, and Truth.

The grinning Whelp, now, betwixt snarling, and fawning, would fain perswade the General, and his Officers, and all the world beside, that the Resolve of Non-Addresses, by the Lords and Commons, was introductive to the MURDER of the King. Murder, I say, that's the Plain English of what he stiles --- A MOST NOBLE ACT OF JUSTICE; His Method lyes through direct Contradictions to the Universal Rules, of Logique, Truth and Honesty.

By this Insinuation, he charges that Exorbitance upon the two Houses, and drawes an inference, from the Impardonable Quality of that Action, to the Necessity and Reason of pursuing it. This, he pretends to make appear, in spite of Ignorance, and Envy, from the Commons Declaration, in pursuance of the resolve of Both Houses, conteyning the Reasons, why no further Address; and thence, proceeds to a Determination upon the Fathers Life, and the Son's In-
heri-

heritance ; --- as positively fixing upon the Kings Accompt, those Plagues this Nation has endured ; as if the Graceless Villain were of Counsell with the Eternal Wisdom,

I shall observe in order, and First, I'll prove that the vote of Non-Address, was not properly an Act of the two Houses ; or if it were so, that it did not rationally direct to the Kings Life.

Secondly. That Declaration of the Commons, (SINGLY) declaring the Reasons of the resolve of Both Houses (JOYNTLY) does not amount either to a justification, or intention of taking the Kings life, — No not though I should grant the Members Free, — which I cannot ; and the Authority Full : which I do not. — To the First. —

They were under a Force. — Upon a Debate in the Commons House, concerning the Answer to the 4. Bills, presented to him Dec. 24. 1647. and debated, Jan. 3. Commissary Ireton delivered himself after this manner.

The King hath denied safety, and protection to his People by denying the 4. Bills, that subjection to him, was but in lieu of his protection to his People ; this being denied, they might well deny any more subjection to him, and settle the Kingdom without him : That it was now expected, after so long patience, they should shew their Resolution, and not desert those valiant men who had engaged for them, beyond all possibility of retreat, and would never forsake the Parliament, unless the Parliament forsook them first.

From hence naturally results the menace of the Army, in case the Parliament should forsake them ; and Ireton understood the Souldjery too well to mistake them. —

As yet ; here's nothing Capital pretended against the King.

After some more debate CROMWELL urged, — *that it was now expected, the Parliament should govern and defend the Kingdom, by their Own Power and Resolutions ; and not teach the People any longer, to expect safety and Government from an Obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened : That those men, who had defended the Parliament, from so many dangers, with the expence of their Blood ; would defend them*

them herein with Fidelity, and Courage, against all Opposition. Teach them not by neglecting your Own, and the Kingdoms safety, in which their own is involved, to think themselves betrayed, and left hereafter to the Rage, and malice of an irreconcilable enemy, whom they have subdued for your sake; and therefore are likely to finde his future Government of them insupportable; and fuller of Revenge then Justice: Nota — lest Despayr Teach them to seek their safety by some other means than adbearing to you, — who will not stick to your selves; how destructive such a Resolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think and leave you to Judge.

This Speech, concluded the debate; and the better to Impress his meaning, he laid his hand upon his sword, at the end of it. If this be not a Force, what is? The Power and Inclination of the Army, being the only moving Arguments to obtain the Vote. The Question was then put, and Carried for no more Addressees. — But no pretence still that extends to Life.

I shall appeal now to the Declaration it self; to which our Regicidall Babeler refers the world for satisfaction.

First, the Sectarians had stoln a Vote, Jan. 4. to Engarrison Whitehall, and the Mews: (the Lords not mentioned in the case) their manner of obtaining it, was this. 'Twas Noon, and the Independent party called to Rise. The Presbyterians went their wayes to Dinner: the Independents staid and did their business.

The Lords opposed the vote for Non-Addresse; (10. to 10.) but the Engagement of the Army, cast it, who sent a Declaration to the Commons of thanks for their 4. Votes against the King, engaging to defend them with their Lives, &c. — Is this a Force yet?

Soon after this, comes forth a Declaration, and Reasons, &c. Drawn by a Committee appointed, by the Independents, &c. So that even That too, was a piece, Contrived by the Designers of our Mischief, and by a Force, Extracted from the sober rest, that would have saved us. This appears, from the interpose of the Pres-

Presbyterians, to moderate the Eagerness of it, upon the debate. The last 4. lines of the said Declaration will be sufficient to stop the mouth of any Reasonable person, as to the point of life ; (even without the Violence ; which undenyably produced the rest.) After an Enumeration of diverse particulars objected against the King, The Declaration concludes thus.

These are some few, of the many Reasons why we cannot repose any more Trust in him, and have made those former Resolutions ; (meaning the 4. Votes concerning Non-Addresses) yet we shall use our utmost Endeavours, to settle the present Government, as may best stand with the Peace, and Happiness of this Kingdom.

This very Declaration touches not his life ; it is not said, settle A present Govenment, but THE— ; (relating properly to an Amendment, not an Abolition)

Considering the Grammar of it ; I do not wonder much, at a Compliance; in some Measure, to an indecency, in order to prevent a greater Ill, that threatned Them, and Us: and That, was their design ; for when it came at Last to the Result of Life, and Death, (as then 'twas evident, it amounted to no lesse) those Gentlemen, whom the Author of Plain English would willingly engage, as Complicates, — those Gentlemen, I say, did then oppose themselves, against the Murtherous Faction, and voted for a Treaty, Dec. 4. Upon the 6. they were Imprisoned, and Affronted by the Army for their pains. — When the more moderate Party, was removed, the Rest were left at Liberty to consummate the Kingdoms Ruine, and their own Damnation.

Come I'll go further with the angry man ; — put case, these Gentlemen had gone yet forward ; and dipp'd as deep as he could wish they had. Frailty is an inseparable from our nature. 'Tis Humane to Transgresse ; — 'Tis Christian to forgive, and 'tis our Interest to Repent. He that *Delivers* me by Design, though but from that mis-fortune which he himself engaged me in upon Mistake ; — he is so far from any Reason to apprehend my Revenge, he has a Title to my Kindness : but our incorrigible *MONITOR*, sets up his Rest upon a Finall, Reprobated, Impenitence. S I

I have been Tedious, out of a desire to be Clear, but I shall hasten and contract as much as possible.

Having already proved the Declaration (of the Reasons why no more Addresses) to have been an evident contrivance of the Independent Faction, in the very frame of it; and publish'd, while the Army stood to dare, and Over-awe the Sober Party, that was likely to oppose it; I do not hold my self concerned, in any further notice of the Particulars therein Contained; and which our Challenger produces, as an unanswerable evi^{ti}on, *that the Late King and his Family, deserved Death, and extirpation* (as by and by, he tells you) — Yet something shall be said, even to his Queries, thence extracted, (in due place;) but I must first unvail him to the people; and that, by laying open the Dilemna he proceeds upon. — He reasons Thus,

My businesse (sayes he to himself) must be to hinder an Agreement with the King. The Presbyterian party (I'm afraid) enclines to't. If he returne, we're Lost: My own Soul tells me, we have sin'd without Remission, and yet I see no way to hinder it neither. The nation is United against us; the Presbyterian abhors us, as much as the Royal party does; and the Army it self, begins to declare it self our Enemy. Whats to be done, must be both Quick, and Home. These Six wayes lye before us.

First, the Army must be wrought into a Tumult.

Secondly, The Presbyterian must be | Right or Wrong, involved with us in Guile, and consequently in danger. They must be made to share in the Blood of the Father, and in the Derestation of the Son, and be possessed, that there can be no safety to Them, but in a common interest with our selves. To this end, we may forge Letters from *Brussels*, Suborn Witnesses to swear the King a Papist, &c.

Thirdly, The Cavalier must be perswaded, that the Presbyter only designes, to set up for himself; and Arguments drawn from by-past, and mistaken Failings upon promise, to beget a Jealousie. The inconsistency of Episcopall; with Presbyterian Principles must be objected, &c.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, All Persons interess'd in Estates, got by the War, must be engaged, for fear of losing them.

Fifthly, The General himself, must be sollicit'd to take the Government upon him; Promises urg'd; no matter whether real or false: If this won't do, advise him, as a Friend, to have a care of the City; and bid the City look to him. Perplex them both; We'll confound all the World, rather than perish.

Lastly, We may publish the Declaration, of the Reasons, for no further Addresses: and try, if that way, we can either make a Party among themselves, or with the People. We may so bring it in, it shall be dangerous to reply upon, for fear of disobliging, and as unsafe to let alone, for fear of seducing. Here's the Dilemma; It will be answered, or it will not; if it be 'twill startle the Presbyterian; if otherwise, 'twill puzzle the People. [I wish our Common Enemy would go this open way to work.]

Here's the true State and Method of our Adversaries Thoughts, and Actions. Now to his Quæres, wherein I shall be tender, how I revive Disputes, either unkind, or unseasonable; and yet not wanting to my undertaking, that is, my undertaking to make Evident, that this Foundation is Sandy, and the Entire Structure composed of Rotten Materials. I'll take his— (what shall I call them?) Suppositions, —Objections, Questions, — (or call them what you will) one by one, and reply upon them in his own Order. Here he begins,

Would you see how and by whom the Irish Rebellion began, and upon whose score those unparallel'd barbarous Massacres of hundreds of thousands of the Protestants in Ireband, do lye?

NO, we would not see *How*. We question not, but you'd be kind enough to shew us; and cut our Throats here just as those Rebels did their Fellow subjects there. (For an Irish Rebel, is but the Anagram of an English Phanatique.)

By whom now, is another Question, and a Harder. Beshrew me

me, 'tis a Peevish point. Why --- the Irish Rebellion, began, by the Irish Rebels : as the English Rebellion, did by the English Rebels. I hope Commotions in Ireland are no Miracles ; nor is it needfull to assign them any other reason, than the Humour of the People ? ----- Yet I'll be civil to you. I speak my Soul, I do believe, the Irish Catholiques in that Rebellion which you point at, took flame at the Severiry they apprehended, from some extraordinary Declarations against them here, previous to their Rebellion.

This I must add further, the King, (for'tis at Him, our Author's malice strikes) at his return from Scotland, did earnestly, and particularly recommend the care of Ireland to both Houses, in his speech, Dec, 2d. 1641. upon the 14th. he pressed them once again, to the same purpose ; Adding, the great Necessity of Dispatch ; --- the daily Cries, and Importunities of the Irish Protestants, and offering all his Power and Interest toward their Relict, in these very Terms, See the exact Collections, the 1. and 2. Speeches in the book.)

That nothing may be omitted on my part, I must here take notice of the Bill for pressing of Souldiers, now depending among you my Lords, concerning which I here declare, that in case it come so to me, as it may not infringe or diminish my Prerogative, I will pass it.

And further, seeing there is a Dispute raised (I being little beholding to him whosoever at this time began it) concerning the bounds of this antient and undoubted Prerogative, to avoid further debate at this time, I offer, that the Bill may pass with a Salvo jure, both for King and People, leaving such Debates to a time that may better bear it, &c.

To conclude, I conjure you by all that is, or can be dear to you or me, that, laying away all Disputes, you go on chearfully and speedily for the reducing of Ireland.

By whom, Ireland was tumulted, I do not know ; but that it was not by his Majesty, is most evident. Nor is there any Question, but the Massacres there committed, must lye upon the score both

oth of the Actors, and Promoters of those cruelties : who they are, when I know, I'll tell you.

Would you know who it was that interposed betwixt the Parliament and the Duke of Buckingham, and would not permit the proofs to be made against him concerning the death of his own Father ?

THis I shall satisfy you in.

A Letter was presented to the house from Thomas Haslerigg (Brother to Sir Arthur) which was read ; to this purpose. That there was one Mr. Smalling, a Committeeman of Leicester-shire, who had been a Deputy-examiner in the Star-Chamber, and affirmed, that above twenty years since, there being a sute in Star-Chamber, between the Earl of Bristol, Complainant, and the Duke of Buckingham, Defendant ; Concerning Physick, presumptuously administered by the said Duke, to King James ; the said Smalling took many Depositions therein, and was further proceeding in the Examinations, untill a Warrant, signed by the King, was brought him, Commanding him to surcease, and to send him the Depositions already taken ; which Smalling did ; yet kept notes by him of the principal passages, doubting what further proceedings might be hereafter in a business of such importance.

Sir Henry Mildmay moved that Smalling be sent for, and examined upon Oath by the COMMITTEE that penned the said Declaration ; but upon motion of the Presbyterians he was ordered to be examined at the COMMONS-BAR. Smalling came, produced the Warrant, but no notes, so this Chimera vanished.

Tertio Caroli, this business had been ventilated; and examined against the Duke, and no mention made of Poysoning, or Killing King James, It was then only called, an Act of high Presumption, and Dangerous Consequence in the Duke, nor was there the least Reflection upon KING CHARLES. (See the History of Independency par. 1. p. 74.)

Would you hear who it was that made so light of Parliaments, killing them as soon as born, and making them a scorn by dissolution at pleasure ; and at length designed, and in fine drew sword against the

the very Parliamentary Constitution, after he had by imprisonments destroyed several eminent Patriots for their freedom of speech in the Parliament on the behalf of the Publick, and in particular, touching the death of his Father?

NO; it needs not, I can tell you that. 'Twas Cromwell, and the secluding Members. The RUMP, That drew Sword against the very Parliamentary Constitution. They clap'd up Sir Robert Pye, and Major Fincher for but desiring a Free-Parliament; on the behalf of the Publique: sending their troops abroad to seize, and Threatning (themselves) to sequester all the Declarers. (That which concerns his Majestie's Father, is spoken to already.)

Would the Scots know who it was that designed them to be the first Subjects of Slavery in spirituals and Civils, who hated their very Nation, though the Land of his Nativity; who made a Pacification with them, with a treacherous intent to break every Article; and manifested it as soon as he returned from Edinburg to London, giving special command to burn the said Articles by the hand of a Common Hangman, and it was publickly done?

I'll tell you that too: 'Twas the old Arglye. -- But hold you Sir. Touching the Treacherous intent, did he tell you his mind? But I confesse, you are quick-sighted; you could not see things else that have no Being; ---- as your own Piety, and publique Tenderness; — You have approv'd your selves, Searchers of Hearts indeed; witness your Sacrifices to your MOLOCH (the good old cause) your Butcheries by Quartering, and Embowelling poor Wretches, only upon Frivolous, and Incongruous Circumstances: senselessly patch'd together by your Ridiculous, and Suborned sons of Belial.

Because that your own Party, did resolve, at first to break all Oaths; and has been only True, in a fidelity to Hell, and Wickedness; you make no difficulty to measure others by your Impious selves; — you Talk, and Act at such a Rate, — as if the Word of God were a Delusion; Divinity an old wive's Tale;

Tale; and (seriously) not half so much Respect, is paid to the Two Tables of the Decalogue as to the Orders of your Coffee-house. I shall not ravel the Transaction, sequent upon the Pacification you speak of. — But to your next.

Would you hear the Cryes of the blood of Rochel, and of his own people sacrificed in that Expedition to a Forreign interest, and of all the Protestants in France, for his Barbarous betraying of them.

THe Rochel Expedition I'm a stranger to; so I suppose are you, that make the Challenge. But if you had told me of Jamaica; or the Sound; I should have understood you.

Would you cast your eye on past miseries, and recollect the manifold intollerable Oppressions of People both in matter of Estate and Conscience, and compare them with the indulgencies at the same time toward Papists, yea and the designs laid to make use of Papists, to destroy both Parliaments and godly people together?

Now you say something, surely The manifold intollerable oppression of People in matter of Estate, and Conscience, &c. This I remember perfectly.

Your Major-General-Archy was an admirable Form of Government: So was your Rump-archy. Clap a man up, and never let him know his crime, nor his Accuser, — declare a Man incapable of serving in Parliament, for having Bayes in his Windows, or a Minced Pye in Christmas, sequester half the Nation, because they will not swear back and forward; sell Free-born Men by Thousands into Plantations; and in fine, beside Excise and other Impositions Arbitrary, lay on the comfortable Load of 100000*l.* a Month upon a Begger'd Nation, and at the latter end of the day. (Is this the Oppression your wife Worship intends?)

Now for the matter of Conscience, I can help you out there too. To shorten, let the Oath of Abjuration serve for all. You follow this with a sharp charge for making use of Papists. I could retort this, if I thought it valuable; but frankly, in a War, the subject of the Question is not Religion, but Assistance. Nor do I (tho' I might as well) condemn your Party, (that is, the Rump-men) for the same practise. would

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Would you understand the correspondencies maintained with, and the encouragements given to, the bloody Irish Rebels, for the Effecting his design; together with the correspondencies and Solicitations settled in Forreign Countreys, to the same purpose, with all the circumstances evincing the truth?

THis is the same thing again, shake Hands and to the next.

Would you be informed how often, and with how much solicitude the Parliament, notwithstanding all these things, did for peace sake, in a manner prostitute themselves, and hazard the whole cause, by appointing Treaty after Treaty, which he never entertained but with intent of Treachery, and thereby frustrated all their good intentions and endeavours, before ever they passed the Votes of Non-Addresses.

Then, we beseech you, read the following Declaration, and be satisfied to the full, whether or no the late King, and his Family deserved death and extirpation.

I Pr'ethee do not choak us with the venerable sound of Parliament: I talk to You, and of that Mungrel-mixture you plead for. A Parliament cannot do amiss, (be not too quick now) they may have done Amiss, and the next Session may repeal or mend it. What they did, I don't Question: but what you say, will (as I humbly conceive) admit a Castigation. Look back upon your self; These are your words — *which he never enterteyn'd (Treaty, that is,) but with intent of Treachery and, thereby frustrated their good Intentions, and endeavours, before ever they passed the Votes of Non Addresses.)* At this rate, you ground the Non Addresses, upon the Kings Intention of Treachery. A Positive disclaim of your Obedience, upon a possible Dis-ingenuity in your Prince. Come, to cut short. Dare you say, that he promised, and failed? That's Treachery, to betray a Trust: By this Rule of Proceeding, had you required his Life, and he refused, you might have taken it: his crime was only the Non-Concession of what you demanded; and he gave his Reasons too for that refusall. Well but let's come up to the Vote it self.

I have

I have already proved, that it concerns not the secluded Members; and now I shall entreat you to Back my opinion, with a slip of your own Pen. Their honest strictness in the Negative, afterward, and their Adhesion to it, through all extremities, speaks manifestly the intention of the party, and that acquits them. 'Tis your own Argument in your fourth expostulation. You charge his Majesty with a treacherous Intent, which you infer from a subsequent manifestation of himself by Action. But to dispatch, should I Grant all you Claim, yet did not the late King and his family, deserve death and extirpation; The premises will not amount to't.

Now if you please go on.

As for our parts, we very well recount the Series of past transactions, and do remember that in February 1647. when the two Houses of Parliament passed their Resolves of making no further Address, but determined to lay him wholly aside, they never were in a greater state of security and freedom, never passed any thing with greater deliberation; and never the least disturbance or alteration arose in either of the Houses against those Resolves, untill some Persons in the Commons House otherwise affected, and who by procuring Elections of Persons fit for their turn to serve in Parliament in vacant places, brought in new men of the Cavalier Stamp (as is known) like themselves; and thereby out-balancing the old Patriots, gained the Major Vote of the House; and so with heat, and by design, obtained a revoking of those resolves which had been passed by both Houses in a time of temper, upon most serious Consideration: so that though we shall not take upon us ex absoluto to justify the interposure of the Souldiery afterwards, and their Exclusion of the Adverse Members, (it being a transcendent Act, not to be measured by ordinary Rule, and which nothing can justify but Supreme necessity) yet This we can truly say in their defence: In Judgment and Conscience there was so indispensable a necessity, that had they not interposed, those Principles and the Concernments of the Common-wealth, upon which the aforesaid Resolves of both Houses were founded, had been utterly shipwracks, and the whole Cause and its Defenders most inevitably have sunk together, seeing the

same heady confidence in treaty was then given to the Father, which too many now incline to allow unto the Son, who were first engaged against them in the war, and held out to the time of the last treaty: whom (of all other Men) his party do hate upon that account; and, if they had an opportunity, would be sure to make them fall the severest Sacrifices to the Revenge and Memory of his Father.

THis is already Sifted, and a little Picking will serve the Turn here. A Cavalier, I find, is only an Honest man that crosses a Fantan; but the Old Patriots it seems, were the Minor part of the House; and That's enough to entitle the Nation to the Benefit of the Treaty resolved upon. For Sir (if you'll give us leave) we'll be governed by the Major part. It's true, your *Supreme necessity*, is a pretty popular Sophism. But,

As necessity has no Law, so is it none; nor in any case pleadable against Law, but by the Judges of the Law, which at all hands, is confessed to be the Parliament, and the Major part of the Two Houses in conjunction with the King have ever denominated That.

I must needs take a little pains to correct the Gentleman, in his next Fleere upon the Presbyterians. He hangs like a Cock-lparrow upon the *aforsaid Resolves of both Houses* (which is but an old Trick of laying a Knaves Bastard at an Honest mans door) and then he preaches most *Infalible Destruction* to the *first engagers, whom the King will be sure to sacrifice to the Revenge and memory of his Father.*

This opinion or rather suggestion of his, opposes all Principles of Honesty, Generosity, and prudence, which fall within the latitude of the case. Nay, Taking for granted, the very entrance upon the War Justifiable.

There might be then a Question, Now there's none, They intended only a Reformation, here's a Dissolution. A Liberty was there Designed; here's an Intollerable Slavery Imposed, Those quitted, when they saw their error; These, for that very Reason, proceed. There is, in fine, This difference; One side

side would Destroy the King, the Other would Preserve him; These, would Govern Without Law, and the Other would be governed by Law. After all this peremptory rudeness at large; he bethinks himself at last of an Apology to the General; and now the Pageant moves.

WE urge not these things, with an intent to make the least reflection upon your Excellencie, and our Brethern the Officers under your Command, as if we suspected your sincerity and constancy, after so many plain and positive Declarations against returning to our old Bondage under that Family which God so wonderfully cast out before us, and wherein we are confident he, for his own name and peoples sake, will never more take pleasure: but in regard the Old Adversaries behave themselves insolently and proudly, and publickly give out, the time is coming wherein they shall satisfy their lusts upon us, we thought it convenient to whet your Spirits with a repetition of these things, as we have done our own, that the world may see we yet own our Cause; and do believe, that what we have done as Instruments in driving out that Family, we have done in judgment and Conscience; and that you take a convenient time to let men understand plainly that you also will continue of the same persuasion with us, for as much as there are none of the particulars charged upon the late King in the following Declaration, which would not, with many more, have been proved to his face by a Cloud of witnesses, if he would have put himself upon tryal, when he was called to answer for his actions.

A Las, good Gentleman; you suspect the General? No body can have such a Thought sure: you do but mind him of his Duty now and then, Refresh his Memory, and whet his Spirits. He has declared himself against returning to our old BONDAGE, under that Family which God so wonderfully cast out before you; but not against the Liberty, and Title of that Person whom God may, no lesse wonderfully, bring in before you: and I suppose my confidence is better grounded, that the people will never more take pleasure in you; then yours is, that God will take no pleasure in Him; the Nation will as little

endure the Rump, as you the King. But all this while, you Beg the Question, how comes the King to be mentioned? The *Young man* (as your gravity descends to call him) he's poor, & his Friends, Beggerly; You have the *Ballance of Propriety* on your side too my Matters; you're safe enough then. I would advise you now to wait, and not pre judge Authority. You're to Obey, not to impose a Government. If you proceed to Murre, and shew your Teeth, when you cannot Bite, 'twill be the worse for you. Indeed, your *Good old Patriots* will be the *Minor Vote* again of the next Parliament, if you behave not your selves more modestly, the people will suspect you; for Mutinous Servants prove but Untoward Masters. *Monopolies*, and some misgovernments were the True Cause, that engaged the well meaning people, in the quarrel, not extirpation of both Laws and Governours. But if your *Adversaries*, do (as you say) grow *proud and insolent*; in such a case, you may be allowed to *whet your Spirits* (as you express your selves, any thing but your knives; you were at that sport once) your judgment and your conscience we are satisfied in; alas, the difference betwixt yours and ours, is but a Trifle. What we take to be slavery, you call Freedom. ——— A Rebell in our Judgment, is a Patriot in yours. ——— Murther, a Sacrifice; Robbing of Churches, in your soft Opinion, is but unclothing of the Whore; (a thing the Rump's a little given to) we term that Sacrilege. One frailty I must needs take notice of among you, for all your talk of Providence, I finde, the Arme of Flesh strikes a great stroke in your spiritual conflicts; and when y^e are worsted; you'll take eggs for your money; and acquiesce, as well as your neighbours. This I observe to be one Article of your Faith, you argue from Divine Omnipotency, that providence is ever on the stronger side. Suppose the Gentlemen of the Back-side, should look on for a fit now; the *Royall Family* (you say) *God cast out before us*: Who casts out these? But to make all sure, you presse the *General*, and his Officers to Declare, that they'l continue of the same persuasion with you. (This perseverance, I confess, is a main point) you should do well

to leave a note, where they may find you ; for you're a little variable, and they're a little shy of meddling with those that are given to change. You're possibly, this day, resolved for a Republick ; the next, for a Protector ; by and by, a Counsell of Officers, and then, a Committee of Safety. Come, come, Gentlemen, the General will be just, without your Counsels ; and steady, in despite of all your Arguments. Speak on.

GIve us leave (we beseech you) to add one thing more, which we had almost forgotten, to shew the madness of those men that cancelled the votes of Non-Address, and would have brought back the late King by the Isle of Wight-Treaty, and would now (if they might have their wills) bring in his Son by the like, viz. that at the very time when that Treaty was on foot, though this young man, who was then at Sea in the revolted Ships, declared all to be null which should be agreed on by his Father ; yet, hand over head, in they would have had him, as others would now restore the Son upon the very same termes which he so positively declared himself an enemy to in his Fathers dayes. Good God ! what a spirit of slumber hath seized such men, who were once deeply engaged with us in the Common Cause.

As for your Excellencie, far be it from us to entertain any suspicion concerning you, supposing you must needs have upon your heart the true interest of Religion, and your Own too ; and how much it is concerned in keeping Out of that Family, whose restitution we believe God will not now permit unto any designers, seeing he hath from time to time so signally blasted all former undertakings. As to what concerns Religion, you know what hath been their Education and Dependency abroad, & should they returne, 'tis Obvious, all Other parties would be put upon their Guard to defend themselves against him and his Clergy at home ; and so all sorts of Religious Parties, being constrained to combine for mutual preservation and liberty, the War will soon be renewed upon the point where it at first began.

What

WHat pitty 'twould have been, this Gentleman should have forgot a thing that never was, the King (indeed) sent an expresse to the City, the copy whereof was carried to the House, by the Sheriffs, and some of the Common-Counsell: 3. Aug. 1647. But not a syllable of what he mentions in it; nor any thing that way tending, yet was it eagerly debated, *in Terminis*, that the Prince should be declared a *Rebell* and a *Traitor*. Among Other Reasons, why it was laid by, One was, — the *Covenant*; a Second, was *This*, *It would not do well; to vote the Prince a Traytour, the same day, that Messengers were sent to invite The King his Father to a Treaty*. The clamorous puppy might bethink himself of better Language; especially Addressing to an Eminent Person. The madness of those men (he calls it) that cancell'd the votes of *non-Addressees*, and would have sav'd the King, &c — If all were mad that would have sav'd *That King*, or that love *This*, we should, not find many sober Persons, in the Kingdom.

This Fellow keeps so much stir to cleer his Party of any jealousy, upon his Excellency, that he most evidently creates, and discovers one. How comes Religion now, To trouble our Atheistique Saints! These Reprobates have violently taken the Father's Life, and thrown the Son out of his *Right* and *Dominions*; exposing him to the charity of *Forreign Princes* for a subsistence: and after this; his *Education abroad*, is made an Argument by this Brute, against his *Return*, where will he be next now?

AS to your own interest in the station where God hath placed you, 'tis well known what the private sence and opinion of that Party is concerning your Excellency, because you have been an Instrument, in keeping Scotland many years with so great a vigilance and prudence free from the attempts of that irreconcilable Enemy. Admit such a thing were possible, whic' some fancy, that you should be the man that would put the Crown again upon the head of that Family; is it not plain what fate (setting aside all other Considerations) you might expect from a seeming reconciled Enemy,
and

and a King too? It being the guise of Kings (as the Historians from enumerable Examples do Observe) ever to recompence with hate their most meritorious Servants; making no difference to returne, betwixt the highest Obligation, and the greatest Injury. The examples are so frequent in our own Chronicles, as well as forreign, that he who runs may read it; and 'tis not proper here to recite them.

I Ndeed he's hard put to't, to make the danger out from the King, to the Generall, in case he should restore him. If there were nothing else in't, 'twere enough, to make him Dear to the King, and to his party, that he Hates you. Do not deceive your selves: He'll be a scourge to the Phanatiques, and every soul that loves either Piety, or Peace will assist him. Do not mistake me neither. God forbid that all such as have either been misled by cunning practises; or else transported by necessities, to seek a livelyhood by unlawfull means. God forbid (I say) that all without distinction, should be marked with that Infamous Brand: No I intend it only of that Frantique crew, that preclude mercy, by despising it: and persecute the Truth with a Determinate Malevolence and spite: But Note, the man begins to soften.

A Las, (Sirs) 'tis not an Army that shall secure you, nor the power of the Militia that can secure our Antient Senators, (if any who have been engaged can be so fond as to think of security) for, let the Young man come in with freedom to encounter both Army and Militia with the bare title of King, and actuall possession of the Throze, the eyes of Army and Militia will soon be dazeled with the splendour of that Gay Thing, and fall down and worship at the sight and hope of the Kingdomes of this world, and the glory of them; and then all Bonds of agreement (if any be) will prove but Rushes.

Oh, for God and his peoples sake, yea, and for the City of Londons sake, whom Charles the Father branded in his papers with the Character of Disloyal and Rebellious Ciry, (though at that time most renowned
in

in her actions, set an end to the expectations of malicious enemies, and staggering Friends, by clearing up your selves, that we may see you in the light, vigorously asserting the good Cause of these Nations: yea, for the sake of Parliaments we ask it: and we doubt it not at your hand, seeing the people are not like to be brought to contend any more for Parliaments, if after so long a contest he should gain an Opportunity of improving a possession of the Crown to an usurpation over the Priviledges of Parliaments.

THis Thing, I'll lay my life, belongs to the Rump; it is so much concerned in the behalf of our Antient Senators. Truly I'm half of his minde, in what he says last. That is, I do believe, his Majesty would be made welcome; But for Faithlesse; nothing but an Abjuring Perjur'd Villain would suspect him.

See how the Supple slave, is come about now: how Arrantly the Rogue Beggs: Oh! for God and his Peoples sake, and for the City of Londons sake. (I am in earnest; I must laugh before I can write on.) Might not this fellow be laid hold of, upon the statute against sturdy Beggars, and Lash'd? He has absolutely turn'd a piece of one of the Rump-Ballads into Prose.

Nay my Lord; (cries the Brewers Clerk) good my Lord for the love of God;
 Consider your self, Us; this poor Nation, and that Tyrant Abroad;
 Don't leave us: but George gives him a Shurg,
 instead of a Nod.

for
Come, hang your self, Beg right; here's your true method of begging. — Oh for *Tom Scot's* sake; for *Hasslerig's*; for *Robinson*, *Holland*, *Mildmay*, *Mounson*, *Corbet*, *Atkins*, *Vane*, *Livesey*, *Skippon*, *Milton*, *Tichbourn*, *Ireton*, *Gourden*, *Lechmore*, *Blagrove*, *Barebones*, *Nedham's* sake: and to conclude, for all the rest of our Impenitent Brethrens sakes, Help a company of poor Rebellious Devils, that only for murdering their Priuce, destroying three glorious Nations, breaking the bonds of Faith both with God and Men, trampling upon Religion and Laws; exercising an absolute Tyranny over their fellow-Subjects — Endeavouring yet once more to engage their native Countrey in Bloud; — to alienate the honest Soldiery from their Obedience; and *in fine*, for playing the Devil in Gods Name; are now in danger to Lose the Reward of all their Vertues; — The Possessions which they have acquired by violence, by a Malignant and desperate design of Peace and Settlement.

This is the State of your Condition, and this should be the form of your Application.

Once more, and he bids you farewell.

But (my Lord and Gentlemen) leaving these things which touch only upon your worldly Interests and Concernments, we are bold to say, (though the jealousies of weaker Brethren be great and many) we believe our selves to be sure of you, because we have your Souls, as well as your personal Interests at pawn for your fidelity to the Publick. We remember your Declaration sent from Scotland to the Churches, and other Declarations at the same time. We might minde you, if it were needfull, how you have called God to witness, That the ground of your late undertaking in Scotland was, The Vindication of the Liberties of the People, with the protection and encouragement

V

couragement of the Godly and the Faithfull therein, &c. and that you have no intention or purposes to return to our old Bondage; but that the providence of God having made us free at the cost of so much blood, you will never be found so unfaithfull to God and his People, as to lose so glorious a Cause; but to resolve, with God's assistance, to endeavour a maintaining of our dear-purchased Liberties both Spiritual and Civil. But seeing these Declarations made before God, Angels and Men, (as your selves have said) do so much concern your Souls in the observation of them, that they cannot but be much upon your hearts; therefore we mention them not, as doubting you, or endeavouring to perswade you, but to ease our own mindes, and to comfort the hearts of our Brethren, who have need to be comforted; and do wait for a good time when your Excellency shall break forth, and more visibly appear (through all the Clouds of Fear and Jealousie) a Defence and Protection (through the goodness of God) to all his people that fear him in these Nations; and so their hearts universally will return unto you: in assurance whereof, and that you will be very much confirmed and encouraged after the reading of the Declaration, We remain,

(My LORD)

Your Excellencies most faithfull
Friends and Servants in the
Common Cause.

March 22.
1649.

STill I perceive you're sure; and yet for your weak Brethrens sake, you minde His Excellency of a Pawn he has engag'd for his Fidelity to the Publick (only his Soul) in a Declaration before God, Angels, and Men, that he hath no intent to return to his old Bondage.

Why you Impudent Sots, does a Confederacy with a Pedling, Little, Sniv'ling Faction, that would subvert
Order

Order and Government, amount to a *Fidelity to the Publick*? or does the *avoiding* the *Old Bondage* you keep such a Coil with, Imply the setting up a New and more Tyrannical Imposition.

In fine; the mention of the King, proceeds from your own Guilt, and Fears, that have so much abused him. The General meddles not at all to impose upon us; but only stands betwixt Authority, and Violence. His Excellency refers all to the Appointment of such Persons as the People shall chuse, to Act in their behalf, and cannot in Honour side with a Party of Juglers, that only call themselves our *Representatives*, and we disclaim.

This is enough said to convince you and the World, where the Abuse lies.

Now, having *eased your mindes* (in your own Language) you may go ease your bodies too; for I dismiss you: and all's but giving of the *Rump* a Purge.

Cursed is he that removeth his Neighbours Land-mark.

April 2. 1666.

UPon this pinch of Time the *Good Old Cause* was hard put to't; as appears by their more than ordinary earnestness toward all Parties: but chiefly, they solicited the Army, in an Audacious Pamphlet, Entituled, *An ALARUM to the ARMIES of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND*; the substance whereof may be collected from this ensuing Answer to it.

THIS last Week, has brought to light, two Pamphlets, so exquisitely impious, as if they had been fram'd in Hell, by *OLIVER* and *BRADSHAW*. They speak the Language of the Damned, Horrour, Despairs, and Desolation.

folation. These goodly pieces are Christen'd; PLAIN ENGLISH, — and AN ALARUM. I suppose they are Twins, the Issue of the same Brain, as they are related to the same main End. I had nigh finish'd a Reply upon the former, when the latter came to my hand: comparing which with the other, I finde they correspond so aptly, and so universally, to the same seditious Purpose, that there's not any Interest 'scapes their Malice and Attempt. They advance their Dispute, and March, together; that what they cannot gain by force of Argument, they may be ready to Essay by dint of Sword. PLAIN ENGLISH is a reasoning of the case: first with the General, claiming, from his Engaging for the Publick Liberty, a title to his aid, in favor of a private and enslaving Faction. It labours then, to puzzle the Presbyterian into a jealousy of the Kings faith and honour, and consequently into a doubt of his own safety, should His Majesty be restored: Nay, not content to blaspheme the Kings Integrity by a bold censure of his secret thoughts; the shameless Beast (the Author of it) proceeds to charge the secluded Members with the guilt of the Kings blood, upon a senceless inference drawn from *the Declaration of both Houses in 1647, touching the Reasons of the Votes for non-Address*. His aim is here, to perswade them to accuse themselves.

How those Votes were obtained, I have shewed at large, (in answer to PLAIN ENGLISH) and it suffices: the whole Nation knows, that though the Plague was in both Houses then, yet All were not infected; the Rum-pers only had the Tokens, (nor all these neither:) so that at last, the seclusion of so many as opposed the Capital prosecution of the King, amounts to a clear Act of discrimination; a *separation of the clean from the unclean*.

Having

Having there set the Presbyterians at work, upon the Question of Interest, and safety; and (after many a lame complement to his Excellency) he cuts out worse employment for the Phanatick Souldiery: and at the same time, breathing Hot and Cold — Reason and Mutiny, he solicites the General into a Compliance, and the Army into a Tumult.

To disabuse the multitude, (if any should be mad enough to be deluded by so gross a cheat) I'll lay the juggle open, in as few and familiar words as possible.

The Title speaks the *business* of the Pamphlet: ('Tis AN ALARUM;) and the Application — (To the OFFICERS and SOLDIERY, &c.) the *malice*; there's Treason in the very Face on't. If the first two words cost not the Nation a hundred thousand lives, 'tis not the Authors fault.

His second page places the Legislative power in the Army, challenging their promise; *That before they would SUFFER themselves to be disbanded, or divided, they would see the Government of these Nations establish'd upon the just and secure fundamentals, and constitutions of Freedom and Safety to the People, in relation as Men, and Christians, and that in the way of a Common-wealth, or Free-state-Government, without a King, single Person, or House of Lords.*

These Gentlemen, I see, resolve to be their own Carvers; *not SUFFER themselves to be disbanded?* This RUMP would be a *perpetuall ARMY*, as well as a *perpetual PARLIAMENT*. Let the Nation observe now the Quality of this suggestion.

First, By the *Law of Arms*, 'tis *Death*, that which these Fellows would engage the Army in; that *mutiny* against their General: (for they give him for lost.)

Next,

Next, 'Tis *TREASON*, by the Law of the Land; the *USURPATION*.

Thirdly, 'Tis *MURDER*, Murder intentional, in the bare conception of it; and actual, sure enough, so soon as that intention is but known. Now let us weigh the Benefits it brings, against the Crimes and dangers that attend it. *FREEDOME* and *SAFETY* to the People, both as *MEN* and *CHRISTIANS*; there's the Proposition.

FREEDOME, there can be none to the People, where a Particular and Little party pretends to impose upon a number forty times greater, and enslave them.

Nor *SAFETY*, where in that Disproportion the Nation is engaged against a Faction: and every Sword that's rais'd against it, carries damnation upon the point on't.

Neither do they act as Men. Man is a Reasonable and Sociable Creature. Here's a Design that breaks the Bond of Order: and betrayes a manifest Folly, by a contrivance so impracticable and mischievous at once; Idly to labour the saving of a few guilty persons, at the price of an universal Desolation.

For *Christianity*; either my Bible's false, or their Opinion, that shall pretend to raise a *Christian Government* upon a Basis of Rebellion and Bloodshed.

From hence the terrible Trifle proceeds to the distribution of his Design into three Heads.

First, what the *CAVALIER* saies. Secondly, what the *PRESBYTERIAN* thinks. Thirdly, what the Armies best Friends (scornfully called *COMMON-WEALTH-MEN* and *PHANATICKS*) do foresee, concerning the present transactions in the three Nations. And lastly, his own Observations, and seasonable Advice.

He

He tells us, *The CAVALIER's OPINION*, that the *Generals intention is to bring in the King*: and grounded upon these Reasons.

First, That upon the 11th. of February last, he sent an imposing Letter to the Parliament, (in scorn called the RUMP) and thereupon, without any Order from them, marched with their Army into LONDON, then esteemed and made by Him (in destroying their Gates, &c.) their implacable enemies; and at night suffered so many Bonfires, and ringing of Bells, and publickly drinking healths to the KING, and a FREE-PARLIAMENT; Roasting and burning of Rumps; hearing and seeing his MASTERS in open Street declared MURDERERS and TRAYTORS, &c. --- Feasted and associated with the Kings Friends, &c.

This is a grievous charge, assuredly; and by the license of our *Observator*, This I Reply.

The General's Commission expired upon the Tenth of February, so he was free the Eleventh. Again, it was the design of the *Rump* to make the General odious, and therefore they imposed on him such barbarous Orders, as probably might leave him to retreat. While he professed to Act by any Derivation from Them: malice it self cannot but say His Excellency stood firm to every point of Military obedience: at last, when they proceeded so severely against the City, he interposed; but his Mediation was rejected, and more imperious commands sent to him: this is enough to prove, 'twas not the General that made *London* the *Rumps* implacable Enemies; but 'twas the sordid Insolences of the Members that made the Conventicle hateful to the whole Kingdome; and this appeared by the Universal Joy that followed upon their disappointment. If the *Rump* at *Westminster* did by a Sympathy fellow-feel the suffering

ring Rumps in the City, the Case indeed was hard; but for the rest, the Murtherers and Rebels they were call'd, --- methinks it should not trouble folks to be call'd by their Names; (that's only Liberty of Conscience; and I dare say, the people spake as they thought) Are these Gentlemens Ears so tender, and their Hearts so hard? Is the Sound of Treason and Murther so dreadful, and the Exercise of it so Trivial?--- I must confesse, to stay away Ten dayes together, (from the 11th. of Feb. til the 21th. as that his Masters charge him with) was something a long Errand. But seriously Gentlemen, considering 'twas his first fault, forgive him.

The second motive to the Cavaliers Discourse (that his Excellency will restore the King;) is, that notwithstanding his engagement by Letter, and Verbal promise to His MASTERS (that had ventured their All, to secure him from being ruin'd by Lamberts Army, he yet admits the Secluded Members to sit, (most of whom he absolutely knew to be for the Restauration of CHARLES STUART,) &c.

To this; it is notorious, that Designs were laid to murther the General; That the Rump Received, and Kept in Members impeached: That they promoted, and gave Thanks for BAREBONES Petition, containing matters of direct contradiction to their Professions. In the next place; instead of the Rumpers saving the General from being ruin'd by Lambert, the General saved them; and touching their Opinions concerning (CHARLES STUART, as this Villain prates) the King. The Noble General regarded their Trust, not their Opinions, nor did he enquire what they were.

Thirdly, (say they) the General will bring the King in; for he hath suffered the Secluded Members to release

Sir

Sir GEORGE BOOTH, and his Party, &c.--- Again, they have (de novo) voted the COVENANT to be Printed, Read, and set up, &c. --- acknowledging the late King's Posterity: --- as likewise suffering to be maintained in the House, that none but Jesuites and Priests are for Free-State Government.--- Observe yet further, (says the CAVALIER) that he imprisons Commonwealth-men, and releases Royalists, &c.

These Rumpers have gotten such a trick of breaking Parliaments, that 'tis their publick Profession now become to enforce them to the bent of the ARMY. SUFFER, still is the word. The General SUFFERED the seclused Membersto Release Sir GEORGE BOOTH.-- The next point is yet more remarkable: These very COVENANTERS ABJURE the COVENANT. ---- As for the SUFFERING (there 'tis again) *to be maintained, that only Jesuites, &c. ---* the General is not properly to take cognisance of what passes in the House; (the King was chidden for't, see *Exact Collections*, the Petition of both Houses Decemb. 14. 1641.) --- now for imprisoning and releasing. If it so happen that some Commonwealth-men deserve to be laid up, and some Royalists to be enlarged (not as such) it is but justice to do the one, and the other; for at the rate of this subtile Argument, Free-state-men shall be Protected against the Law, and Royalists so Persecuted likewise.

Lastly, the Cavaliers conclude as much from the Generals countenancing the Militia; being raised and formed to murder, and destroy the Army --- and that the same thing was done long since in Scotland: --- besides, the Irish Army have proceeded answerable to himself. --- And divers Officers that served the late King have had fair promises from him, --- and several of the Kings friends

are peaceably returned from exile, &c. --- and again, there's a Proviso in the ACT of DISSOLUTION, concerning the LORDS being a part of the PARLIAMENT, &c.

To be short, --- the General encourages the Militia to Save the Countreys, not to Ruine the Army, --- next, if long since done in Scotland, the better done, the sooner; for England hath been only Rump-ridden, for want of it. To this, the conform motion of Ireland proceeds from their Commune Concerne with England in delivering themselves from the Tyranny of the Rump; for the Generals promises; I am glad to hear it, but truly I know nothing of it. In truth, 'tis a sad business, Alderman Bunce his return: and the Proviso in the Act of dissolution, (for certainly, by the known Law, the Lords are no part of the Parliament.) To speak my thoughts freely: I am very glad to hear that the Cavaliers are of Opinion that the King will come in, but I believe it never the more for your saying it.

Now to the SOBER PRESBYTERIANS: they (sayes our Phanatick) begin to suspect the General: for the Cavaliers are at this instant arming themselves in all the three Nations, and if CHARLES STUART comes, he'll bring with him Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. --- and then in comes his Mother --- with her Jesuites, Priests, &c. --- and this will make little difference betwixt us and the Sectaries.

Now do I dote upon the sincerity of this Bubble; had he pretended to Religion himself, h'ad been ridiculous; but putting that scruple upon the Sober Presbyterian, 'tis well enough. The story of the Cavaliers Arming themselves, is a Phanatick, not a Presbyterian conceipt. As to the Queens bringing in Jesuites, &c. It needs not, the Independents have enow for her Majesty and them-

themselves too. (How the changeable Butterfly flutters from Party to Party, and whereever he seizes, he stains.) As to his concluding Opinion, that the King will put no difference, he may live yet to change that opinion.

He comes next to the *Armies* BEST FRIENDS, (as he terms them) and they preach nothing but Fire and Sword, if ever the King come. Oh this pestilent *MILITIA*! Alas poor Wretch! Away with your Improbable Lies: The Secluded Members threaten the Army, Yes, 'tis a likely matter. Come Gentlemen, you are safe, if you continue honest, and lost without it. Do not you know, that these very persons that now Flatter you, are the people that have taken your meat out of your mouths; that have received sufficient for six Armies from the Nation, and yet have left you monileffe, and ready to perish for want of Bread? Nay, suppose their Arguments were more rational than they are, and that the King were a Person as famous for Cruelty, as he is for Clemency, you were still safe. You are below the stroke of Revenge. They are fearfull for their own Heads, and pretend to concern themselves for you. They talk of Treachery, in case you should recede from their Designs: They tell you of Engagements, Promises, &c. --- and so do I. Remember but your Oathes and Covenants; and if you do, you will not mix with them; they promise you the glory of after-Ages: yes, you shall be Renown'd, if you engage with these Desperadoes.

Look back into old Stories; enquire into the different reputation of the Brave Mayor that kill'd the Rebel-Patriot, and of the Libertine himself that fell; (a MARTYR your hot headed Councillor would call him) Are you ambitious to be Chronicled with JACK OF LEYDEN,

LEYDEN, KNIPPERDOLLING, CADE, TYLER, RAVILLAC, BALTAZAR GERARD. &c. Desire your brainsick Illuminates to tel you *Muncer's* Story, go to, beware of separating. Remember them that cried, *You take too much upon you ye Sons of Levi, the Congregation is holy every one of them, and the Lord is among them.* To come a little nearer home. Reflect upon the deceas'd Patrons of their Frantick Zeal; their very flesh is not more putrid than their memories. Come nearer yet, and look impartially among your living Partizans, (I speak of such as our Pamphleter stiles *Patriots*.) do not you finde them cloth'd with the Spoils of Widdows, and of Orphans? Nay, look into their Morals, even toward those, that with the loss of Bloud and Peace, have rais'd them: how Thanklesse and how Avaricious are they? Examine now their Principles of Courage, and their Military Vertues: do they not sneak into Committees, and there dispose of all the Advantages of your Unchristian Hazzards? *YOU kill the HEIR, but THEY divide the INHERITANCE.*

Having abundantly perplex'd the mindes of his weak Brethren, he's as intent, now, how to entangle the *Interests* of the Nation. The man is willing to do any thing that may help on the work of undoing All; and here he's ballancing Accompts: ——— casting up how many millions will pay the Court-debts, and repair the Losses of His Majesties Friends. For that I think the next Parliament may as well compose the Difference, as either he or I: this only I may say, 'tis not the care of the Publick which imployes him so much. *His sins are greater than he can bear.*

All this is nothing, compar'd with what he has yet to tel you. Observe him well, and ask him, how he looks when he lies? *Upon his knowledge, the Militiaes are resolved*

solved to cut the Soldiers throats in their beds. Why does he not discover who they are? Still the bloody 11th. and 21th. of Febr. runs in his Head; *The Villanies of that night*, how hardly does he digest them! and then *the Catalogue of Saints (the Holy-ones of the Rump)* that nettles the Bum terribly. That *marks* them out for a *Massacre*, he says. The Worthies have behaved themselves well the mean while, that call themselves the People. Why, at the worst, if the People have a minde to destroy themselves, they cannot begin better than at the Breech; that's a good way from the Heart.

The Story of your *Governor* is every bodies tale. I'll only take the Applicable part; *We love the TREASON, but we hate the TRAYTOR.* 'Twas you Betray'd your Countrey's trust to the Army. They love the Treason, but they hate the Traytor. ('Tis as fit as if it had been made for you.)

Now your *Advice*, which is scarce worth a Fee; for --you propose things Impossible: *Rendezvous first*, you say: why you Phansie, sure, that the General is of the Plot; and that his Officers are all mad; and then you propose a Confederacy, as 'twas at NEW-MARKET: your little Agitators, &c. — Fie, Fie! Gentlemen, here's the difference of the Case; the Nation then was with the revolted Party against the Great ones: Now, they're Unanimously against you, in any such Design. Your General is a Gentleman and a Soldier; and every Man that is either, (in the Kingdom) will die at's Feet: His Officers are Persons that understand Honour, and the Discipline of War. There's not a man among them, but when he comes to passe a Sober Thought upon so base an action as a Mutiny, would rather Perish than promote it.

Beside,

Beside, you are discovered with the first breath that utters the least Syllable, tending to Conspiracy! Could I believe, the Conscience of that Traytor that advises you to this, would let him Sleep, I should believe his Counsel but a Dream, 'tis so remote from any due Coherence of right Reason. Come, shall I Counsel you a little? Be obedient to your Superiors; Compassionate to your Countrey; Just to your Equals: *In fine*, serve God, and honour those whom he hath set over you for your Good.

'Tis not the Fool's Reviling of his Betters, that mends your Cause, or makes ours worse. *There are* (as he sayes) *Ropes twisting*, I believ't, but they are for such Imps as himself. He tels you, *Gallows are setting up for the executions of your friends*; (and he accounts himself one of your friends) who knows what may come on't? He concludes with a Proverb; *Men ARM'D are seldom HARM'D*. Take mine too, and so shall I conclude: *Save a THIEF from the Gallows, and he'll CUT your THROAT*.

April 4.
1660.

Libido Dominandi, Causa Belli.

The



THe *Militia* of the Nation, being at present in good forwardnesse toward a settlement, was yet quickened by *Lambert's* escape out of the Tower, which was understood to signifie more than his particular Freedom and Safety, by reason that he had already refused Liberty upon engagement to be quiet. Hereupon the General placed four Companies of his own Regiment in the Tower; and the Council of State issued forth a Proclamation against *Lambert* and his Complices, requiring all persons whatsoever to be assistant to the Suppression of them. The Citizens repair'd their *Posts* and *Chains*, strengthened their Guards; and (in short) the whole Nation was as vigilant as possible to disappoint the Grand Conspiracy of the Phanaticks. About this time they made several Attempts in order to a general rising; but by the care and Conduct of the *Council*, the General, and the *Militia*, all came to nothing; the heart of the Design was almost broken: and yet they would not leave their Pamphleting. Particularly *Milton* put forth a bawling piece against Dr. *Griffith* and somebody else another scurrilous Libel, entituled, *ETE-SALVE*: I did not think it much material to reply upon these, the people being already convinc'd of the Right; but however, being excited to it by a private Friend, I return'd these following *Answers*.